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Report on Kosovo Writer Rugova Interview

AU0608124189 Tirana ATA in English 0947 GMT 6 Aug 89

["Press Review"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 6 Aug (ATA)—On the international plane the newspapers ZERI I POPULLIT and DRITA carry an expanded information entitled: "If the Repression and Policy Which Leads to the Limitation of the Rights of the Albanians Continue in Kosovo, the Consequences Will Be Grave," from the interview of the chairman of the Writers' Association of Kosovo, Ibrahim Rugova, granted to the Croatian magazine START.

This interview is published in the August 5 issue of the above magazine of Zagreb. At the beginning of the talk, asked of the accusations brought on him as "an enemy" and "nationalist," Rugova said: I am used to such stale things and nonsense. It is difficult when you come across people in the street and they wonder at your still being free. But this is a general stand towards the Albanian intellectuals. I am branded with all kinds of etiquettes, especially in the Belgrade press. Following my interview granted to DER SPIEGEL, the Socialist League of Kosovo and the Communal Committee in my birthplace started the procedures of applying the "administrative measures" against me. I don't know what will happen, I don't understand what terrible thing I have done. I have read many interviews of the Serbian intellectuals in our press and in the foreign one, where they have uttered no good word on the Albanians, moreover they have openly spoken with a racist predisposition towards the Albanians and no one in Yugoslavia has made any criticism on that, no one has either branded any etiquette or raised it as a problem.

After speaking on isolations and other repressive measures against the Albanian cadres, Rugova stressed that all these broke out when the Albanians raised their voice for the defence of their rights and the application of democracy. The Albanians, he said, are not any small ethnic group, which through some cultural-artistic association would cultivate its own national traditions, or would treat of in any newspaper only its own national-cultural problems. We wish to cooperate in all the fields of life in the Yugoslav society, but the Serbian policy did not want to accept this.

As regards to the clamor raised in Serbia on the "Albanian nationalism" and on the Serbians' and Montenegrins' "threat" in Kosovo, Rugova said that this is a [word indistinct] on their part of the Kosovo problems. It is created, he said, the myth of Serbians being threatened in Kosovo, something which now gives them "the right" to alter the policy, to take over the power, to appoint people to various posts, without taking into account whether these people suit the Albanians as well. For the moment, those in power are people who suit themselves to the Serbian policy alone. It happens that some Albanian political cadres are suspicious only because they are Albanians.

Further on, Rugova said that when it is spoken of Serbians' and Montenegrins' running away from Kosovo, it is forgotten the fact that at the same time from this province have also moved almost 200,000 Albanians, who have gone to other parts of Yugoslavia or abroad. On the other side, a number of Serbian intellectuals and specialists have as well left Kosovo for Belgrade so as to ensure better living conditions.

Today, Rugova said, everything easily assumes the etiquette of the Albanian nationalism, even when it has to do with the defence of the national identity. At such times of unrest, the people are afraid of losing even that minimum of the identity guarantee—language, school, culture. There have been such cases and we must not belittle them. The people in power in Serbia wish that now be forgotten everything that happened in the Serbian-Montenegrin rallies, everything the Belgrade press has written and is writing, or what some Serbian politicians are saying.

All this is blotted from the memory and they attack us because of the stands in the public discussions on the constitutional amendments. Our need for national identity is considered as nationalism.

Over almost the last ten years we constantly hear to be spoken of the Albanian nationalism, of some kinds of organized centres. It is said that all nationalisms are dangerous, but the Albanian one is the most dangerous, and only that is put on another plane. Why isn't it spoken of the Serbians' responsibility towards us, as we in the SR [Socialist Republic] of Serbia are a minority? On what right is any Albanian declared as nationalist and is not even allowed to air a thought different from that of the others? We have no right to voice our opinion. Our basic democratic rights are called in question. If it is continued with such a repression and policy, something which leads to the limitation of the Albanians' rights, the consequences will be grave.

In continuation of his interview, Rugova said that Kosovo has always functioned in the framework of the state and policy of Serbia and the whole of Yugoslavia. In the key leading posts, he stressed, have never been only Albanians. I think the 1974 Constitution has not threatened the activity of the SR of Serbia, taking into account the fact that everything has been under the republican jurisdiction. Kosovo's autonomy would make Serbia itself more democratic but now it is clear that it is being run towards the republican centralism and the abrogation of the autonomy. The Serbian policy is aggressive; they falsify, disqualify, impose and refute the others' arguments.

Asked of his meeting with the delegation of the European Parliament and on the charges brought against him later because he wished to "internationalize" the Kosovo problem, Rugova said: Firstly, the Kosovo problem was internationalized by our state itself through inviting the delegation in Yugoslavia and Kosovo. Secondly, the parliamentarians wanted to listen also to the other side, not only the officials put at their disposal.

My colleague Qosja and I who talked with them in this talk represented ourselves and not any organisation. Now the Belgrade press writes of my travelling all over the world, while I, unfortunately have gone nowhere over the last years, Ibrahim Rugova concluded.

American Support for Restructuring Viewed

AU0808072789 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 3 Aug 89 p 4

[Shaban Murati article: "Why Perestroyka Has Become a Subject of Soviet-American Diplomatic Discussion"]

[Text] It is unusual for domestic problems to be placed on the agenda of one country's diplomatic talks with another. It is therefore striking that perestroyka, alongside many international problems, was placed on the agenda of the talks in Paris last Saturday [29 July] between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. This was the first time since it was launched in 1985 that perestroyka has been a special item on the agenda of an important Soviet-American diplomatic meeting such as that between foreign ministers. This leads one to think that it was not done simply to provide an opportunity for an expression of United States support, because such support has been expressed at other meetings. The news agency TASS, which reported the inclusion of perestroyka as a special topic in the foreign ministers' discussions, did not specify why Shevardnadze and Baker "devoted a great deal of time in their talks to discussing the implementation of perestroyka in the Soviet Union." The sentence carried by TASS, "United States Secretary of State Baker stated that President Bush and his administration support perestroyka and wish it success," does not suffice to answer the doubts and questions prompted by this new step in Soviet-American diplomatic contacts, still less when President Bush expressed his interest in, and support of, perestroyka the previous day in a communique issued in Washington after his meeting with Gorbachev's military adviser, Akhromeyev.

The inclusion of perestroyka as a special item on the agenda of Soviet-American diplomatic talks is of far-reaching significance, extending beyond purely bilateral relations and interests. A brief examination of the attitude of the United States and the West to perestroyka during the last 4 years enables us to observe a shift from initial indifference and distrust to enthusiastic support. In recent months, the U. S. President and other prominent Western leaders, one after another, have committed themselves to expressions of strong support for perestroyka in the Soviet Union. This support has been increasing recently for two main reasons. First, the political reform that Gorbachev applied in the Soviet Union this year and which has been bringing the Soviet political system increasingly closer to the Western one, has given the West fresh confidence in the capitalist nature and aims of perestroyka. The second reason lies in the intensive political and economic reforms along similar lines that have been undertaken in some countries of Eastern Europe, especially Hungary and Poland. Increased U.S. interest in perestroyka and the reforms in East European countries have been noticed particularly since U.S. President Bush's visit to Poland and Hungary and his study of these reforms in the field. The American magazine NEWSWEEK clearly expressed U.S. and Western enthusiasm in an article on 26 June 1989, titled "The Death of Communism," which stated: "The word 'communism' has disappeared today from the dictionary in the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. Nobody writes or talks about communism in these countries. Party officials and researchers in the Soviet Union never mention communism. It is no longer taught in Soviet schools. Slogans about communism have vanished from Soviet streets and buildings. Gorbachev's reforms are expressed in a vocabulary that has nothing to do with communism."

It is against the background of such a situation that the Soviet Union and the United States decided to include perestroyka on the agenda of their diplomatic talks. First of all, the two sides have a common interest in discussing it. At a diplomatic level, it is not merely a question of the success of perestroyka in the Soviet Union, but, above all, of the meaning of its influence on inter-European and international political equilibrium. Such discussions therefore involve the global policy pursued by the superpowers on our continent and in the world.

The Soviet Union and the United States declare themselves to be united in their support of the process of perestroyka and the reforms being implemented in the various countries of Eastern Europe. This common interest involves combining the efforts of these two states in various fields and spheres in support of reform. Their efforts in the field of the economy are well known, with the West's readiness to help perestroyka with loans, investment, and large-scale agreements. It is realized equally on both sides that this is not enough, and it is well-known that the level of Soviet-American trade is now lower than at the time of Brezhnev and Nixon. This means that there are now efforts in the political sphere to consolidate the capitalist reforms in the Soviet Union and other countries. These logically involve delicate domestic political relations, which the United States is attempting to encourage in the direction of perestroyka.

The inclusion of perestroyka in Soviet-American political discussions has its own meaning in the field of foreign policy and international relations. It means supervision on the part of the superpowers in order to ensure that domestic reforms should not upset foreign relations to the extent of jeopardizing relations and treaties between the superpowers. Support for perestroyka and economic and political reforms in various Eastern European countries has now reached a point beyond which the strategic plan drawn up by the superpowers in exclusively bilateral treaties would be upset. The superpowers have always been at pains to include European developments within their large-scale bilateral bargaining, a fact that has been confirmed once again in the new situations that have been created in different European countries, both East and West. A high-level Kremlin official, Vladimir Zagladin, emphasized this vision of perestroyka a short time ago in an interview with the newspaper CORRIERE DELLA SERA, when he said that "stability in Europe depends on agreements between the two blocs." It is obvious that an agreement between the two blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, means, first of all, an agreement between their two leaders, the United States and the Soviet Union.

In another sense, the Soviet-American diplomatic talks on perestroyka and the support that has been declared for perestroyka's success are a form of pressure on various states who do not accept Gorbachev's general direction. The superpowers are thus attempting to impose on international relations a way of life, thought, and action which they have approved in their bilateral treaties and discussions. In this way, perestroyka becomes a tool in the diplomacy of intervention. As Comrade Ramiz Alia emphasized in his greeting to the Sixth Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania, "It is precisely because perestroyka and the reforms being undertaken in certain countries are helping to restore capitalism that the bourgeoisie and international reaction are enthusiastically supporting them. Not only that, they are recommending them as a 'model' of economic development, as criteria for the progress of democracy, and even as a precondition for international cooperation among states."

66th Volume of Enver Hoxha's Works Published

AU0508152889 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 5 Aug 89

[Text] The 66th volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works has just been published and is on sale. This volume includes materials spanning the period April-June 1975, most of which is published for the first time. The themes included in the volume are numerous, varied, and of great topical value, dealing with various questions of economic policy, the country's socialist construction and defense, the ideopolitical education of the communists and working people, the constant perfecting of the party's leadership and organization work, and so forth. It also includes analyses and reflections on the international situation and exposes various trends of modern revisionism.

The volume includes an index.

Economic Progress Report for 29 Jul-5 Aug

AU0508191289

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 29 July and 5 August carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of report given in parentheses):

Berat District: The 7-month export plan is expected to be overfulfilled by 2 million leks. (1800 GMT 1 Aug 89)

Durres District: The 7-month industrial production plan was overfulfilled by 22 million leks. (1330 GMT 5 Aug 89)

Fier District: The 7-month industrial production plan was overfulfilled by 12 million leks. (1800 GMT 2 Aug 89)

Kruje District: The general industrial plan for the 7-month period was fulfilled by 101.5 percent or 7.5 million leks over the target. (1800 GMT 5 Aug 89)

Librazhd District: The 7-month industrial production plan has been exceeded by 4 million leks. (1800 GMT 5 Aug 89)

Sarande District: The 7-month industrial production plan has been overfulfilled by 7 million leks and the net income of enterprises by approximately 3 million leks. (1800 GMT 3 Aug 89)

Shkoder District: The 7-month industrial production plan has been overfulfilled by 12 million leks. (1800 GMT 31 Jul 89)

Vlore District: The 7-month industrial production plan has been exceeded by 8 million leks. (1800 GMT 31 Jul 89)

Leaders' Public Appearances for 29 Jul-4 Aug

AU0408183489

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 29 July and 4 August reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of report given in parentheses):

Foto Cami, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, attended a jubilee session in Elbasan on the 45th anniversary of the Second Assault Division on 3 August. (1800 GMT 3 Aug 89)

Zhivkov Receives Soviet Academician Arbatov

AU0708194189 Sofia BTA in English
1730 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Varna, August 7 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, today received Academician Georgiy Arbatov, member of the Central Committee of the CPSU, people's deputy of the U.S.S.R. and director of the Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies with the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, who is visiting here at the invitation of the Central Committee of the BCP.

Soviet Journal Cited on Muslims' Situation

AU0608184889 Sofia BTA in English
1730 GMT 6 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia, August 6 (BTA)—In his reporting "Six Centuries and Two Months" the journalist Sergey Marinov, special correspondent of the "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA" newspaper, refers to his talk with Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria. The publication treats the events that have been taking place in Bulgaria since the beginning of the summer.

Conveying his talk with Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, the "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA" correspondent states the position of the Bulgarian side. "We are for a dialogue with Turkey, for normalization of our relations. Many of the Bulgarian Muslims who have left for Turkey would like to come back, but the Turkish authorities are hampering them. This would become the subject of negotiations with Turkey", quotes the Soviet journalist Mr Ivan Ganev's words.

Recalling Bulgaria's consistent foreign policy in connection with all problems related to the fulfilment of the agreement contained in the final document of the Vienna Follow-Up Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Soviet journalist familiarizes his readers with the recent changes of Bulgaria's legislation concerning the travelling of Bulgarian citizens abroad.

Hundreds of people are leaving the country where they were born, where they grew up and brought up their own children, where their ancestors were born and died, writes the Soviet journalist, commenting on what he has seen at the Kapitan Andreevo border check point. He points out the good organization at the Bulgarian border, the care taken of those leaving the country, the medical services provided.

Turning to the past, he recalls the tragic pages of the history of the Bulgarian people which was subjected to cruel assimilation on the part of the Ottoman enslavers. Foreign travellers who crossed the Balkan Peninsula, consuls and scholars who lived here in the 15th-19th century period left abundant evidence of the assimilation policy pursued by the Ottoman Empire at that time and of the local origin of most of the Muslim population in the land, the "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA" special correspondent underlines.

In his report from the region of Khaskovo (Southern Bulgaria) he writes in detail about the efforts made to gather in the crops and restore the labour rhythm at a lot of enterprises and farms.

ANTENI Criticizes Economic, Labor Situation

AU0408162989 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian
No 31, 2 Aug 89 p 1

[Teodora Dimitrova article: "Toward Clarity"]

[Text] Our economy has been advancing toward clarity in recent years. In every economic branch it is already known which types of production, which enterprises, or workshops are ineffective. Every collective can name the people without whom work would not progress, and those who are undisciplined, or lazy. All these facts are known.... but this is all. It seems that we have stopped here. We were afraid to call things by their proper names, because this would mean that we should accomplish the next step—namely begin to change things.

It turned out that our way of thinking, instead of advancing ahead of the economic conditions, is beginning to forget the necessary changes. We were not able (and we are still unable) to free ourselves of the misunderstood concept of social justice. As a result of this, ineffective, or even useless enterprises have been swallowing millions of leva in the form of capital investments and subsidies over the last decades. They are draining the resources required for enterprising managements and industrious collectives. According to the same routine, the state has been paying large amounts of money over the years, which, compared with the labor invested in them, should be called "assistance to the unemployed", instead of "working wages" as we are calling them today.

Our social justice has turned into social injustice, it has become the weapon of lazy people which they use against their industrious colleagues. According to the labor codes of the past, an individual could be released from work "on the basis of mutual agreement," for "health reasons," and for a number of other justifiable reasons, but not for the most justified one—namely for not working as well as his enterprise and society as a whole would require. Under such circumstances, no matter how much we try to distort the facts—the result is the same—namely that industrious people are earning the bread, the milk, and the clothes of their lazy fellow-citizens. Some people are working for their own benefit and for the benefit of others in all places: in the industrial and agricultural sectors, in the scientific and cultural spheres. The wages earned are not distributed according to the quality and quantity of the labor efforts, but according to a uniform pay roll. This can no longer be called social justice. It has achieved nothing but the people's alienation from work. For this reason many of us would presumably wish to accept Comrade Todor Zhivkov's report: "On Some Fundamental Problems of Our Economic Restructuring," as a starting point for more radical actions, aimed at putting things in their place. We cannot advance toward progress, if some people have to carry others on their backs.

Stoyanov Addresses Komsomol Plenum in Sofia

AU0408181789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Excerpts] The third plenum of the Dimitrov Komsomol was held today in the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia. Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov took part in the plenum's work. [passage omitted]

Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov made a comprehensive speech at the plenum. He spoke on certain problems of the present stage of implementing the ideas of the party's July Concept, and on the results achieved in the economic field during the first half of the year. He paid special attention to the Komsomol's participation in the companies and its role in developing agriculture, in ensuring the timely collection and full utilization of the harvest, and activating even more the farm brigade movement. The need was emphasized of even more effective ideological and political work by the youth organizations.

Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov dealt with certain important problems of restructuring the Komsomol, which will be implemented on the basis of the most valuable and unchanging elements of its traditions and accumulated experience. In this way the role and authority of the united mass voluntary sociopolitical organization will be increased, an organization called to work for the communist education and comprehensive self-fulfillment of the younger generation.

Organizational matters were also discussed. The plenum relieved Andrey Bundzhulov, member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, from the post of first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, because of his appointment as first deputy minister of national education. Evgeni Uzunov, previously deputy minister of transportation, was unanimously elected first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee.

Aleksandur Mirchev, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, was relieved from his post in connection with his reassignment to other work. Alyosha Vurbanov, secretary of the Commission on Organizational Matters of the Komsomol Central Committee, was elected secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Tanchev Meets Ecuadoran Democratic Party Leader

AU0408192689 Sofia BTA in English 1852 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia, August 4 (BTA)—Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and first vice president of the State Council, today received Mr Rene Constantin Vargas Passos, first deputy chairman of the Popular Democracy Party (DP) in Ecuador, who is visiting here at the invitation of the BZNS Standing Committee.

The sides considered the opportunities for the promotion of contacts between the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the Popular Democracy Party, which help rally the agrarian and the other democratic parties and organisations in support of peace and cooperation and for the assertion of new political thinking.

Portugese Communist Leader's News Conference

AU0608162189 Sofia BTA in English 1512 GMT 6 Aug 89

[Text] Varna, August 6 (BTA)—Today Dr Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party, had a press conference. He visited Bulgaria in 1987, some weeks after the July Plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] at which the concept of the further construction of socialism in Bulgaria was approved. The restructuring is in full sway and we, the Portuguese Communists, highly appreciate the tasks you have set yourselves, he said. There are achievements in your national economy which correspond to the rapid social and economic development of the country. Democracy in the party, the state, in the management of economy and in all the society is being broadened and extended, Dr Alvaro Cunhal pointed out.

He said, "The participation of Portugal in the E.E.C. is contrary to our national interests and our national sovereignty, because we cannot withstand the competition of the well developed countries. A single West European market with a free movement of capitals is to the interest of the multinational corporations and the big business. And it means doing away with the social gains of the Portuguese people. There will arise a lot of problems among the European countries, concerning the security, detente and cooperation. The present situation sets new tasks to all West European communist parties. The progressive and democratic forces of the continent should join this struggle."

Dr Alvaro Cunhal compared the plans for a single West European market with the idea of building a common European home. All peoples, he said, should cooperate in economy, policy, diplomacy and culture, which will be only to their advantage, to the interest of the unity of all forces in a united Europe stretching from the Atlantic, where Portugal is situated, to the Urals.

Norwegian Party Chairman Nilsen Interviewed

AU0408125589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Aug 89 p 6

[Interview with Kaare Andre Nilsen, chairman of the Communist Party of Norway, by special correspondent Valeri Natan in Bulgaria: "Slogan for a Broad Alliance of the Left"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Natan] Comrade Nilsen, last year the Communist Party of Norway celebrated the 65th anniversary of its formation. Could you outline the party's main tasks under present conditions relating to guaranteeing workers' vital rights, and peace and disarmament in Europe and throughout the world?

[Nilsen] The Communist Party of Norway concentrates its attention on protecting the rights and interests of the workers class. The great problem in Norway today is increasing unemployment. Our country now has 130,000 unemployed, including those with so-called temporary jobs. This is the highest unemployment figure recorded in Norway since World War II. Other big problems include the rising prices of certain basic kinds of food products and housing, and certain trends under which the workers are losing their social perquisites already gained in the fields of health care and education.

The monopolies are applying heavy pressure for the return of nationalized undertakings to the private sector. Our party is campaigning, as a basic social principle, for health care, housing, and education to be made "zones subject to the law," that is, they should be society's common concern and be protected against speculation.

[Natan] Does this mean that you share the view that the Norwegian economy is gradually recovering after the economic crisis?

[Nilsen] In my opinion the Norwegian economy still shows a number of signs of crisis. In order to emerge from the crisis, it is necessary to establish control over the banking and credit system and strengthen the state's regulating functions. How can one talk about emerging from the crisis when we have 130,000 unemployed? [passage omitted]

[Natan] Comrade Nilsen, would you describe the current state of relations between the Communist Party of Norway and the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]?

[Nilsen] The relations between the Communist Party of Norway and the BCP are very good. They are based on principles of cooperation which guarantee the expansion and development of these relations. We are following with special attention the processes of restructuring in your country under BCP leadership. The good relations between the two parties can promote the development of cooperation between our countries in the political and economic fields.

[Natan] How do you regard Bulgaria's contribution to our common European home?

[Nilsen] Bulgaria is playing a positive role in the process of establishing peace, security, and cooperation in the Balkans and in Europe, and in promoting better understanding and friendship between peoples. A recognition of this is the fact that this autumn Bulgaria will host the conference on ecological problems within the framework of the all-European process and the Vienna accords. Environmental protection issues are one of the most important spheres of cooperation between the European states, and Bulgaria is making a great contribution in this area.

[Natan] What is your opinion about the anti-Bulgarian propaganda campaign that has developed in Turkey?

[Nilsen] I believe that it is dangerous to make use of campaigns of this kind, and for this reason we have reason to strongly criticize these statements by top politicians in Turkey today, which I would describe as verbally aggressive, being aimed against a neighboring state.

Company To Send Canning Equipment to Albania

AU0708200189 Sofia BTA in English 1735 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia, August 7 (BTA)— The Bulgarian state-owned company Bioinvestengineering will supply Albania with equipment for two enterprises to make tinned vegetables and juices. An agreement on this was reached at the talks held here between delegations of the Bulgarian Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and of the Albanian Ministry of the Food Industry.

The aide memoire signed today specifies the areas in which the two countries will be exchanging experts in 1989 and in 1990. They will exchange experience in the production of essential oils from wild-growing and cultivated plants, of wine, of different kinds of cheese and other foodstuffs.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 28 Jul-4 Aug

AU0408184089

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the monitoring period from 1500 GMT on 28 July through 1500 GMT on 4 August report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Todor Zhivkov, with Petur Mladenov in attendance, received in Varna on 1 August Hamid al-Ghabid, secretary general of the Islamic Conference Organization, and Suleyman Majid al-Shahin, under secretary of the Kuwaiti Foreign Ministry. (Sofia BTA in English 1622 GMT 1 Aug 89)

Milko Balev and Dimitur Stanishev welcomed at Sofia Airport on 2 August a delegation from the French Communist Party led by its Secretary General Georges Marchais. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 2 Aug 89)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and chairman of the State Council, met in Varna on 3 August with Georges Marchais, secretary general of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party. (Sofia BTA in English 1912 GMT 3 Aug 89)

Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, met in Sofia on 30 July with Kaare Andre Nilsen, chairman of the Communist Party of Norway. (Sofia BTA in English 1649 GMT 30 Jul 89) In Sofia on 31 July he chaired a meeting of the Foreign Policy Commission of the National Assembly. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 31 Jul 89)

Stoyan Ovcharov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of planning and economy, made a brief working visit to Romania on 3 August, where he was received by President Nicolae Ceausescu. (Sofia BTA in English 1456 GMT 3 Aug 89)

Fojtik Attends Ceske Budojevice Aktiv Meeting

LD0708143489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, addressed a regional aktiv of leading officials of the CPCZ, national committees, and National Front on the present tasks of political and ideological work and economic policy in Ceske Budejovice today. He spoke about topical issues concerning the internal political and international situation. He recalled the importance of the seventh and the subsequent sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee, which set a clear-cut direction for the realization of social and economic restructuring and democratization in our country.

Jan Fojtik also talked about the preparations of the 18th party congress. He stressed that the issue was to imprint a constructive and creatively active character onto the precongress period and to concentrate on the tackling of the problems placed before us by the requirements of the development. He also mentioned the efforts of the illegal structures to disturb the working character of the restructuring process in our country and to provoke tension in our society. Jan Fojtik said that we will not permit the denigration of the past developments and the CPCZ's acts and gains for this country through heavy sacrifices.

Jan Fojtik also dealt with the international situation and answered officials' questions.

Comments on 'Sentences' Appeal

LD0708200289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] Leading officials of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], of the national committees, and of the National Front met at a regional aktiv in Ceske Budejovice today. Josef Havlik, editor, reports:

[Havlik] The meeting was opened by Miroslav Slavik, the leading secretary of the South Bohemian regional party committee. He underlined the importance of these types of meetings for uniting and advancing the joint effort of the party and the people in the current period of restructuring and democratization of society.

Up to 5,000 letters in which work collectives of the party reacted to the appeal of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium to the 41st anniversary of Victorious February, expressed their full support for this program.

Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, described in the introduction to his speech the current internal political and international situation, and outlined the way to attaining a higher degree of development in society through making wide use of the country's economic and spiritual potential.

Comrade Jan Fojtik also spoke about efforts by illegal groups to obstruct the process of restructuring in our country and create tension in our society. He said about the provocative appeal "A Few Sentences":

[Begin Fojtik recording] In mentioning this appeal, I must add that it is not as successful as its inciters had imagined. It is already clear that they have made fools of themselves. The response is not as strong as they expected, although they have made every effort. They force many people to sign, even collecting signatures in bars. It is no surprise that they try to help themselves by falsifying signatures and there are quite a number of such cases. Protests against the actions organized around the appeal "A Few Sentences" are multiplying; they are coming to editors of RUDE PRAVO, and to the party Central Committee.

Our aim is not to organize a sort of competition for votes or signatures. It would be ridiculous and stupid. This is not our method. After all, when you speak with people who signed the petition, many of them—and I do not think that they are acting, although many of them are actors—see in the whole action support for the process of democratization and restructuring, no more, no less. It is not pleasant for them to find out that they are being manipulated; that the aim of the campaign is totally different; that by this action Charter 77 and the opposition groups linked with it want to win political credit in society, to introduce themselves as an important political force, the spokesman of the people, which conveys the demands of the growing civil movement; and that among other things this is a sort of test of power before the 21st anniversary of the August events, which the opposition forces would like to commemorate on the streets of Prague and also of other cities. [end recording]

[Announcer] In connection with the preparation for the 18th CPCZ Congress, Comrade Fojtik spoke about the importance of activity and the degree of commitment of each Communist. He underlined the demand that every party organization be aware of the current situation and know how to act in order to ensure that only things that have become obsolete are negated.

At the end, the participants in the aktiv drafted a letter to the CPCZ Central Committee in which they expressed support for the process of basic changes in the political, economic, and social spheres, and for pushing through a more pronounced dynamism of comprehensive advancement in our society. At the same time, they denounced the efforts and activities of opposition groups, who strive to destabilize and destroy socialism in our country.

Daily Comments on 'Chartists' Anniversary Aims

AU0708204489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Aug 89 p 3

[Marie Boudova and Jaroslav Kojzar article: "Have the Invitations Already Been Distributed?"]

[Text] At the beginning of the year some of the leading "Chartists" had already made the decision to choose a confrontationist course. They began with the "Few Sentences" appeal. What is to follow is a sharp reminder of the demonstration which, in its time, ended with the throwing of stones, street battles, and dozens of wounded and dead people. The event which 20 years ago should have been the beginning of an "uprising" to "once and for all" bring to an end everything that is socialist.

Twenty Years Ago

They had prepared themselves carefully for the first anniversary of the internationalist assistance. Plans for individual events, which had been prepared in advance, reckoned with the flaring up of "the fire of nationwide resistance." All kinds of "revolutionary youth organizations", the remnants of the "non-committed", the right-wing leadership of the writers' association, the people around F. Kriegl and F. Vodslone, and former right-wing officials in the party leadership had thought through their plans for action. They wrote and distributed leaflets and announcements.

Slogans even appeared: "Every enterprise must burn," "Prague without electricity," "dozens" of them were disseminated offering advice on how to behave on 21 August. The chess player L. Pachman (later the leader of an ultra right-wing West German organization) and the dramatist V. Havel set out for an unsuccessful meeting at the Klement Gottwald New Metallurgical Works in Ostrava and the editor J. Hochman (shortly afterwards a very committed anti-Czechoslovak emigre) and others set out for the North Bohemian Power Station to win over the local workers "for a united course of action."

The leadership of the state and of the party were aware of the complicated situation. Therefore, President Ludvik Svoboda just 2 days before 21 August declared: "We all have enough work and worries. Even with only what today will bring. This is so because enemies of socialism at home and abroad have nothing to worry about today other than planning and organizing and how to complicate and intensify our problems. They want to prevent the consolidation of conditions and to render impossible the positive resolution of the open issues of domestic and foreign relations.... This applies, in particular, to the next few days when some people—often using patriotic phrases and abusing national sentiments—would like to bring the crisis situation to a head. In manufacturing plants, in transportation, and in supplies. Simply everywhere."

Despite the united stand of the state and party leadership and despite warnings and advice, the right wing chose a game of chance and on the eve of the "anniversary" attempted to take control of Wenceslas Square. Weapons were even used. The first blood was spilled at the museum. Storm troops of fanatical youths, led by many of "the men from the Prague Spring", later poured onto the streets. The outcome was four dead, 316 injured members of the National Security Corps, of these 48 were seriously injured; 31 members of the People's Militia, 4 seriously; 25 members of the Czechoslovak People's Army, 2 seriously; 13 firemen, 2 seriously; and 35 citizens, 5 of whom were seriously injured.

Damage to socialist owned property was calculated at Kcs5 million. A number of shops were looted, dozens of window displays were smashed, and many kilometers of roads were damaged. Among the 1,500 people detained in the capital were approximately 500 who did not live in Prague, 14 U.S. citizens, eight from France, West Germany, and so on, 150 people without a contract of employment; of this total, 416 had already been tried for property-related, violent, moral, and other crimes.

"If they force us into a struggle," said Comrade Gustav Husak at an aktiv of party workers held at that time, "if they are the cause of it, we will turn this struggle around so that we finish it with the defeat of reactionary and right-wing forces, so that we bring it to an end with the political defeat of all these forces, so that we clean up the responsible political, economic, and other places in this state so that they cannot be abused and, thus, once and for all put an end to these permanent crises."

A. Dubcek, L. Svoboda, and O. Cernik signed the Federal Assembly legal measures of 22 August 1969 on some temporary measures which were necessary to increase and maintain public order.

"...not chaos and destruction," as stated in a communique from a Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium session, members of which at that time were A. Dubcek and O. Cernik, "but only active and selfless work and peace and order can bring consolidation to this country and a satisfied life for all its citizens."

How Is It To Be This Year

In June they thought about holding a "day of remembrance." They have learned from 1969 and have asked themselves the question of what to do so that the event is a success and so that their intentions are fulfilled. The first lesson was that international support was necessary. The second was that confrontation should not end in a bloody battle because this would slow down for a long time the endeavor by the "Chartists" and others to achieve a political reversal. However, should it end in a battle then it would be necessary "to shift" all the blame onto the regime.

In order to get assistance it will be necessary to use "foreign friends." The "independent" Western press—as in the case of a "Few Sentences"—will cooperate. Also, the representatives of Polish Solidarity, who visited our country in July, had agreed on some joint events. Incidentally, prior to the publication of the "Few Sentences" appeal they already had their "public support" as arises from the material on the appeal's script which we published on 22 July. Just before 21 August, as Jan Urban, a former spokesman of the "Charter", said on the BBC on

26 July, a further meeting is to take place. Guidelines will be issued there. The participation of Solidarity representatives, who by their presence will, allegedly, make difficult or render impossible any intervention by the security forces and will, at the same time, give the demonstration the hallmark of legality, is being counted on at an individual "event" in Prague. American radio stations have already been talking about this. Meanwhile it is necessary—as one of the Solidarity representatives, who was a member of the delegation which visited Czechoslovakia, advises—to begin to do something. Begin with what? In an interview for Radio Free Europe, recorded at V. Havel's summer residence in Hradecek, the reply to this question could also be heard.... "Perhaps it is not as complicated as it seems. The problem is to find the beginning of the fundamental weakness of the communist economy. This beginning is the nomenclatura. It is necessary to somehow strike at the nomenclatura. How? Through the territorial self-management bodies...." That is, to begin with the removal of the present top economic and other employees. To ensure that the party and National Front organizations lose their influence in the selection of cadres and to install by all means possible their own candidates into the vacated places, just as, incidentally, these very same forces advocated in "Two Thousand Words" in 1968. Not by chance do the inspirators and organizers of the "Few Sentences" petition mention their agreement with the 2,000 words appeal.

The so-called Independent Peace Association contributed its share by sending Mikhail Gorbachev a form of ultimatum on 19 July in which it demands that he distance himself from internationalist assistance and thus, allegedly, casts doubts upon the "legitimacy of the present organs of power(?)," that is, not only the leadership of the CPCZ but also of the state. Everything before 21 August. This, apparently, will discourage our leadership from "confrontation with democratically thinking forces, confrontation which this leadership continues to cause in various forms."

In the meantime, they stress that they are not interested in confrontation and that they do not wish it—of course, as long as Communists and other forces voluntarily give up their power. If, however, they do not give it up then a crisis will be reached, as it is stated in the "Few Sentences" appeal, and blood will flow. "There are (after all) people who believe that if they allow themselves to be shot while asserting their demands, it will help reveal the true face of the regime," said the "Chartist" J. Dienstbier, a member of the editorial board of the unauthorized LIDOVE NOVINY, in an interview with NEWSWEEK. "We should not kill each other as long as it is not necessary," he dictated to Mrs Mary McGrory for the column in THE WASHINGTON POST. Other "Chartists", though they stand by the claim that they themselves do not desire such things, advertise a bloody course of action as one of the models for 21 August. According to V. Havel—in an interview for Radio Free Europe given in mid-June—young people come to him or telephone and ask: "We will calmly allow ourselves to be shot on Wenceslas Square, it does not matter to us...." He even claimed in LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR that "now this generation is going hand in hand with us against the party." "Let us hope that the whole thing turns out as we want...." (from the script of the "Few Sentences" appeal).

The invitations to the event, then, have already been distributed. Their "truth" is to be confirmed by any means. Because they, after all, "speak the truth," nothing but the truth. Or, in the end, have they "forgotten" something? For instance, that in return for their personal accounts, tuzex bonds, and cars, which they receive from abroad, and in return for the constant supply of foreign currency they are driving into confrontation those who are most trusting and most naive. However, at this time they are sending their own children on vacations abroad or far away from the places where, according to their plans, something will happen.

These people have forgotten in which country they are living. Their wishes are not identifiable with the interests of the majority of citizens who want to live in a prosperous state and to work for their country's benefit. This has been confirmed once again by the response to the Proclamation by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the 41st anniversary of Victorious February which has become the constructive platform for the unification of all honest working people. Approximately 200,000 concurring letters have reached the Central Committee and party regional and district organs. An unequivocal voice can be heard in them—do not allow those who spread unrest to implement their plans. The working people demand the thorough fulfillment of the tasks of restructuring. Our certainty, faith in its success, and in our socialist future rest in this.

Chief Investigator on 'Sentences' Petition

LD0708203889 Prague CTK in English
1914 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 7 (CTK)—"The investigation has not been finished yet, but nevertheless we can declare univocally that the persons responsible for the contents of the petition and its dissemination are members of the Charter 77 group supported by the 'Radio Free Europe' and 'The Voice of America' stations striving for many years to overthrow the socialist system in Czechoslovakia", chief investigator of the Czechoslovak National Security Corps in Prague Jaroslav Spura told CTK and RUDE PRAVO today.

He pointed out that these forces are looking for allies and assistants abroad, e.g. among members of the Polish Solidarity, but also among state representatives of Western countries. This statement is based on one of attached documents concerning the recent visit of West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Czechoslovakia. Its contents unveils not only power interests of the

Charter leaders, but also their attempts to abuse the development of cooperation with the FRG for their benefit, Jaruslav Spura said.

He added that the material openly reveals the aims of the Charter representatives. But when their ideas are not fulfilled, they come to, for instance, following conclusions, Jaroslav Spura said, quoting sentences from a letter written by Petr Uhl to Vaclav Havel: "In this situation, I consider Genscher's additional cancellation of the invitation (for breakfast) and replacing it by an invitation for you only, to be, said undiplomatically, rude and beastly... You are now in an absolutely different position than two years ago. In comparison with you, Genscher is (both in Czechoslovakia and other countries) an unknown political official. It is him who needs meeting you...". The letter further contains resolute demands that the breakfast should be attended either by all selected Charter 77 members or by no one, with the conclusion that "At least it will be a lesson to Genscher's Ostpolitik which requires such lessons very urgently."

Evaluating the support for Charter 77 of several circles in the West in connection with the "Several Sentences" case, and the impudence of its representatives when dictating their will to a state representative of the FRG or scolding him for the current trend in the Eastern policies, a number of questions which cannot be underestimated is at hand, Jaroslav Spura said.

He emphasized that the investigation proved that the aim of the "Several Sentences" petition is to stir up unrest, provoke acts of pressure and violate the public order. Its authors are not interested in the positive development of restructuring in our republic", the investigator stressed. [quotemarks as received]

He also pointed out that in connection with the petition, various forms of blackmail and intimidation of those citizens who voiced publicly their protest against the appeal have been revealed.

He said that the organizers of signature collections and propagators of the petition are mainly young people, lacking political knowledge or experience. Some of them are people who have been at variance with the principles of social life or with the laws of this country. They are persons who believed in attractive slogans about democracy and freedom as well as those who have consciously stood up against the socialist system. There is a large group of those who have never been interested in politics, whose working morale was bad or who are not employed. Some of them have been already once or several times punished for various criminal acts.

Asked about the ways how those people collected signatures to the petition "Several Sentences," Jaroslav Spura said that most signatures were collected in pubs, dance-halls, on trains etc. In fact many people did not know what they were signing as they were under the influence of alcohol, he said. Some of them were previously convicted (up to nine times). Some signatures were collected also in psychiatric wards, Jaruslav Spura said.

Cultural Communists Condemn 'Sentences' Appeal

AU0708164789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Aug 89 p 1

["(JAPE)"-signed report: "It Is Impossible To Wait; A Cultural Workers' Aktiv"]

[Text] Prague (From our own correspondent)—An aktiv involving the chairmen of party organizations, members of the leadership of cultural and artistic institutions, and representatives of artists' associations was held on Friday [4 August] in the Knights' Hall of Valdstejn Palace in Prague.

Marie Hutterova, secretary of the committee for party work in the Czech Socialist Republic, acquainted those present with the topical issues of contemporary internal political development and with the tasks of Communists. It is essential to reinforce all the positive things we have achieved in the past and not close ourselves in. Members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] who work in culture and art are capable of creating, via their well-thought-out and systematic work, a good climate for seeking ways out of the present situation. This is the issue now. This also means paying more attention than ever before to mass political work in artistic collectives, being successful in reacting to negative phenomena, being aware of the people's opinions, and not overlooking attacks made on the Communist Party. In short, always presenting oneself in all circumstances as a Communist. It is impossible to tolerate indifference and passivity. In these days Communists must not adopt a wait and see attitude. We are not concealing our mistakes and shortcomings, but we will resolve these mistakes ourselves and we will not allow them to be abused by antisocialist forces.

Comrade Hutterova also mentioned the letters and points of view of the working people which at present are being addressed to the CPCZ Central Committee and the mass media. The people condemn the "Few Sentences" appeal and demand peace to carry out their work. They point to the fact that unrestrained criticism of the past will not achieve anything. Deeds are necessary and these deeds are honest work in all sectors.

In this connection, the working people in particular are asking why the artists are keeping silent and also why they are not making public their views on the "Few Sentences" appeal. Opinions have also cropped up that cultural and artistic workers have lost their feeling of belonging to the working class.

In the discussion it was revealed that the majority of cultural and artistic workers do not agree with the "Few Sentences" appeal and that they support CPCZ policy. But it will be necessary to manifest the capacity for action of Communists in the artistic and cultural front in the very near future.

Budapest TV Interviews CSSR Dissident Mylnar

LD0708033889

[Editorial Report] Budapest Television Service in Hungarian at 2110 GMT on 6 August carries as part of its "Close of the Day" program a 30-minute recorded interview in Vienna by an unidentified Budapest Television reporter with former Czechoslovak dissident Zdenek Mylnar, who was involved with the "Prague Spring" events of 1968 and who is now living in exile in Vienna, Austria. The date of the interview is not given. Mylnar, speaking in German with superimposed Hungarian translation, begins by describing past reform attempts in Czechoslovakia and comparing them with reforms underway today in some East European countries. He said that the main similarity is that all were attempts to fundamentally reform the Stalinist system. He is optimistic that the socalist system is capable of change and reform, and says reform developments in the USSR, Hungary, and Poland are dependent on each other for success.

Mylnar says reform will eventually come about in Czechoslovakia, but a great problem is that there are no reformers among the present leadership, as the process of "cleansing" in the 1970's effectively ejected from positions of influence all people with reformist inclinations. Pressure from below is growing, but as the system there is not opening up, it could lead to confrontation, conflict.

The reporter asks: "You said that during the experiments at that time, in 1968, you very much took national characteristics into account. But, as earlier, chief ideologue of Czechoslovakia, Vasil Bilak, says the same—that is, that they do not wish to imitate or copy the model of others, and that national characteristics must always be taken into account. This is what he says."

Mylnar replies: "Well of course Mr Bilak talks like this now, after 1985, since Gorbachev has been in power in Moscow. While Brezhnev was there, it was very important for Mr Bilak to pick out precisely the general rules of the law of socialism. So this is a farce, and it would be better not even to speak of it."

The reporter follows up: "But in the meantime, the Czechosklovak Communist Party, in the person of Jan Fojtik, has a new chief ideologue who regularly criticizes, for example, the Hungarian reform attempts. What reasons or arguments are there behind this, do you think?" Mylnar answers: "I think that the Prague leadership is playing a waiting game. They probably are constantly thinking that this will not succeed in Moscow anyway, that Gorbachev will fail, and that everything will go back to the accustomed 'normalization' track. For these are precisely the people who are experts of the so-called 'normalization'—that is, the stagnation under Brezhnev. Thus, there is no point in delving deeper into this. If there are changes, as for example in Hungary, then the question will arise: What, as a matter of fact, are you still doing here? For you are responsible for the 20 years when every reform endeavor was suppressed. It is for this reason, too, that these kinds of people cannot begin a new policy in a creditworthy way, or try to carry it further."

Mylnar then touches on the other East European countries which are not yet on the path of reform. He says central Europe could play a connecting role between East and West, but this is a complicated issue. The Russification of the past 40 years has not worked and the old traditions and characteristics are emerging again.

Mylnar concludes by saying that the timing and conditions for the 1968 reforms were wrong, but internally they had chances for success because the economy was not in crisis, as is the case of the Hungarian and Polish economies today. They achieved much then, including raising the standard of living.

Correspondent Criticizes Hungarian Opposition

AU0708124289 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
5 Aug 89 p 4

[Article by Vojtech Vesely, Bratislava PRAVDA correspondent in Budapest: "Tripartite Talks in Hungary Have Reached a Critical Stage; Obstruction by Opposition Forces"]

[Text] **How can the political and economic crisis in Hungary be overcome? This has been under discussion since 13 June at the "triangular table," attended by representatives of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], nine alternative political parties and movements affiliated under the name Opposition Roundtable, and at the third side of the table sit the representatives of seven social organizations. The participants in the talks have pledged to arrive at a political agreement on principles for a peaceful transition to a pluralistic political system, on conditions to establish a state ruled by the law, and on resolving the accumulated economic and social tension in the country.**

What is involved in practical terms is the intention to arrive at an agreement on the principles of a law on political parties, electoral law, and a new constitution. On the basis of a consensus of the political forces, one would prepare the texts of those laws and decide on their adoption by parliament in the usual constitutional manner.

After several weeks of deliberations in working commissions behind closed doors, representatives of the MSZMP and the Opposition Roundtable have now reported on the state of the talks at special news conferences. They did not issue a joint statement. From this it is possible to deduce that an agreement on the aforementioned issues is still far away. The two sides have even been talking about the possibility of breaking off the dialogue without a result.

MSZMP representative Gyorgy Fejti said that there have even been sharp, sterile polemics, but despite this it seems that neither of the two sides has said its last word yet. Another valuable result is the fact that one has discovered the areas in which the views of the participants differ.

On individual issues the state of the talks is as follows:

—**The law on political parties.** The opposition demands that a law be passed which would block and divide the MSZMP property for the benefit of the newly set up parties and movements, with the substantiation that parties must also have an identical starting basis from the material viewpoint. In order to gain support for that demand, the opposition has launched an extensive campaign to stir up emotions among the public. The MSZMP refuses this, saying that it acquired its property—buildings and equipment—in the past legally, that it has nothing to hide, but is willing to give up something of value only on the basis of a legal amendment applying to all parties, and even so, only for the benefit of the state.

Regarding the funding of the activity of individual parties, the MSZMP favors banning support for parties from abroad. Already today some of them are receiving considerable sums, something which, for example, is impermissible in the Western states. The Opposition Roundtable parties favor a liberal solution to this question.

To the demand that the MSZMP disband its primary organizations at workplaces, the opposition received a resolute answer at the talks: We do not accept an administrative ban. The party of the Communists is traditionally built at the worksites, and in this respect the only thing that can be the subject of discussion is changing the content of party work—for example, that the primary organizations will make decisions only on party affairs, that they will enforce their resolutions by political means alone, and party activities will be organized outside the working hours.

—**The electoral law.** The pertinent commission devoted ten sessions to that issue, but only a roughly 50-percent agreement has been reached. The MSZMP favors the election of 300 deputies in the traditional individual constituencies, and the remaining 50 mandates are to be determined by the number of votes cast for the parties' statewide slate. The opposition favors electing half of the deputies by the first manner, and half by the second manner. There is also no agreement on some details of the electoral law, for example, regarding the number of citizens who can nominate a candidate.

—**The Constitution and the institution of the president.** Political developments have made the existing Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic of 1949 obsolete; a completely new constitution must be adopted. Parliament has already adopted the appropriate decision on the matter. An agreement on the main principles of the new constitution is to materialize in tripartite deliberations, but the approaches of the MSZMP and the Opposition Roundtable are still very far apart. The opposition is against the constitution's stating that the Hungarian People's Republic is a socialist state in which the workers class plays the leading role. In addition, it is against the establishment of a constitutional court and the institution of the president because, according to the opposition, this would make it possible for the MSZMP to maintain its political powers, and at the same time give the impression on the outside that the country is a pluralist democracy. The opinion of the MSZMP is that a speedy establishment of a constitutional court would facilitate a smooth transition to a multiparty system, and the election of a president—the party favors indirect elections as the most democratic form—would act as a stabilizing factor in the critical transition period.

It seems that the positions on all contentious issues by the parties engaged in talks are intransigent. The Opposition Roundtable parties are accusing the Communists of rigidity and unwillingness to seek compromises. However, it is precisely the attitude of the opposition—which proceeds from the assertion that the present composition of parliament is illegal because the elections in 1985 "were not free"—that brings the search for solutions for the entire Hungarian society to an impasse. However, in that sense the present government set up by this parliament also lacks legitimacy, many laws are not in force, and even the legitimacy of the opposition parties themselves might be doubtful.... It is obvious that the opposition has a downright need for these obstructions, because—so far—its parties have been profiting only from negating socialism and from criticizing the past. They are unable to come forward before the public with a realistic, positive starting program; their "program" involves long lists of attractive-sounding demands that should be fulfilled by someone else.

The MSZMP wants to arrive at an agreement without procrastination and to hold elections and establish a stable political system which would at long last put urgent economic and social problems on the day's agenda. However, as long as the Opposition Roundtable sticks to positions from which it insists on continuing to further paralyze progress, as Gyorgy Fejti said, there is nothing to do except for the government to submit the law on political parties and on elections without first achieving concensus among the political parties. Life in the country cannot stand still.

Hungarian Opposition Election Campaign Viewed

AU0708192189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Aug 89 p 5

["ve"-signed Budapest dispatch: "Beginnings of a New Electoral System; Sharp Sallies Against the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and Socialism"]

[Text] Budapest (From our correspondent)—The pre-election contest of candidates for three seats in the Hungarian Parliament ended yesterday, and today by-elections will be held in the cities of Szeged, Kecskemet, and Kiskunfelegyhaza. They are a repetition of the elections of 2 weeks ago, which were declared invalid because of the extremely low voter turnout, which was below the set limit.

The significance of these elections is underscored by the fact that, for the first time, the electorate's votes are sought by delegates of various political parties advocating alternative and in many ways antagonistic programmatic aims. In the first round, held on 22 July, a decision was made only in the city of Godollo where the seat was won by the candidate of the opposition Hungarian Democratic Forum while the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] did not get the upper hand, even though, if the votes cast in all four constituencies are added up, it won the greatest number of votes of all parties contesting the elections.

In its preparations for the upcoming second round in the remaining three constituencies, the party showed greater activity. In two of these constituencies it has fielded its own candidates and, in the third, Communists will support the candidate of the DEMISZ youth organization. At the close of the election campaign, even MSZMP Chairman Rezso Nyers addressed a meeting in Kecskemet. He described these elections as the beginnings of a new electoral system and stressed that the party is getting rid of past mistakes but carrying on with what has stood the test of time. Candidates for the MSZMP have been advocating radical reforms, but free of chaos.

All opposition parties and movements in the three constituencies support the candidates of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, one lawyer and two professors, who have based their pre-election agitation on sharp sallies against MSZMP policy and against socialism. They will be enforcing democratization, the construction of churches, the departure of Soviet troops, and the country's neutrality and its withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact. The demand that the Hungarian parliament act as a representative body also for members of the Hungarian minority in neighboring countries was not absent either. Radio Free Europe, too, became actively involved in the pre-election agitation, which at times was palpably lacking in the accepted norms of political culture. It was involved, unequivocally, on behalf of the Hungarian Democratic Forum and, in this process, it did not even hesitate to use distâteful "bar gossip."

Hungarian TV To Change Management, Programs

LD0708210689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] We have learned from reports in the Hungarian press that the way of management and the content of Hungarian television is to be changed. Tomas Borec, our permanent correspondent, reports:

[Borec in Slovak] One of the reasons for the change is a bad financial situation which has forced the management of Hungarian television to shorten the broadcast time of newscasts, to cut expenditure, and to review previous program plans.

The second reason was described by Gyula Bereczky, the head of television, in the following way: The television screen cannot become an arena for a political struggle. It must be achieved that the parties, including the MSZMP, develop political activity outside television screens.

What is behind these words? Nothing but the effort to close the door to the television and to the television screen for the Hungarian Communist Party which is waging a daily struggle for carrying out political and economic reforms. We ought to add that the management of Hungarian Television recently held talks with the representatives of the Opposition Roundtable and looked for ways to enable the opposition to appear in newscasts more often. The division of the two television channels is to serve this end. Each is to manage its financial funds independently, and, naturally, their broadcasting time, too. What it would look like in practice has been shown by the management of the two channels in the recent past when it permitted to broadcast the views of some discredited Czechoslovak politicians from 1968 and also others who do not hide their anti-communist stances. This is really an example of the way in which Hungarian Television wants to broadcast non-political programs.

Dangers in Hungary's Liberalized Book Market

AU0708155189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Aug 89 p 5

[Commentary by Vojtech Vesely, RUDE PRAVO correspondent in Budapest: "The Hyenoid Nature of the Market"]

[Excerpts] They say that every miracle lasts only 3 days; after that, people come down to earth again. This also held true for the recent publication in Hungarian of A. Solzhenitsyn's book "The Gulag Archipelago." It caused a minor sensation with a political and, more specifically, an anti-Soviet flavor, which was not inconsistent with the intentions of some circles.

The first disenchantment awaited the buyers after they unwrapped their purchase, when they discovered that they had spent 348 forints, a sum for which it otherwise is possible to buy a work of high artistic and typographic standards, on a paperback which can be read only once because as soon as one reads it the expensive thing comes apart in one's hands. The second disenchantment then came in the form of reports that "Gulag" is not identical to the version that had been authorized by the writer for publication, that is, the revised Russian version in 96 chapters, but that it is a reprint of the Hungarian version which the Danubia publishing house put out in Munich in 1976, in a shoddy translation. The third disenchantment came as the discovery that the Hungarian publisher, Uj Idok, a company with limited liability, does not avail itself of the consent of the holder of the copyright, Mr Claude Durand from Paris. [passage omitted]

Until recently, all books published in Hungary were approved by a central institution, which also made sure that the requisites were comprehensively provided for. A few weeks ago this institution was abolished as "undemocratic." Now anyone, even an individual, can publish whatever he pleases, as long as the publication does not violate any law. He only has to announce the publication. One did not have to wait long for a situation to emerge, which is characterized by the circumstances under which "Gulag" was published (but similar disputes also surround three other publications). The publishing houses are in danger of losing their prestige, books are in danger of losing their standards, and, in the case of "The Gulag Archipelago," there is also the danger of receiving a fine in hard currency, a danger that will be hard to avert.

Recall of Romanian Envoy From Hungary Noted

AU0708135189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
4 Aug 89 p 7

["zr"-signed report: "Ambassador Recalled"]

[Text] Budapest—The Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania has recalled its ambassador to the Hungarian People's Republic for consultations in protest against an interview with former Romanian King Michael, broadcast by Hungarian television. This was announced by Radio Budapest yesterday. According to the same report, Romania also cancelled an invitation for a delegation of representatives of Hungarian cities to visit the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Deputy Premier Receives Romanian Ambassador

AU0808080389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
5 Aug 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Bohumil Urban, CSSR first deputy premier, received George Homostean, ambassador of the Romanian Socialist Republic to the CSSR, in Prague on Friday [4 August]. During their talks, both representatives agreed that it is necessary to focus on new forms of cooperation in economic relations, including the setting up of mixed enterprises. It is essential to more actively utilize the existing contractual agreements in culture and education, including exchanges between university students.

Janku Interviewed on Appointment of Bishops

AU0708193489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
4 Aug 89 p 2

[Interview with Vladimir Janku, deputy minister and director of the Czechoslovak Government Secretariat for Church Affairs, by an unidentified CTK correspondent: "An Attempt To Distort the Agreement"—date, place not given]

[Text] Prague—The recent report on the appointment of new Roman Catholic Bishops in the CSSR has aroused a positive response both in our country and abroad. Obviously, this is the reason that some Western mass media are attempting to distort the results of the agreement between the CSSR and the Vatican and to interpret it as the alleged victory of the pressure applied by one side and the concessions made by the other side. Vladimir Janku, deputy minister and director of the Czechoslovak Government Secretariat for Church Affairs, refuted this claim in an interview.

The appointment, he stressed, is the result of talks and the mutual agreement of both sides. As far as the Czechoslovak side is concerned, it is the product of its goodwill to solve problems openly and to proceed along a road of gradual normalization of relations with the Vatican. It would be absolutely unacceptable for us to negotiate under pressure.

[CTK] Once again the claim is being made that the Czechoslovak side is slowing down the negotiations—allegedly by putting forward specific candidates. What are the facts?

[Janku] Candidates are put forward exclusively by the Vatican side on the basis of its own inquiries. As I already mentioned earlier the interventions of those foreign and domestic forces who are not concerned about church but about political interests are slowing down negotiations and are sometimes even marring their results. Without this, the results today could be even more substantial as far as filling the vacant bishoprics is concerned.

[CTK] Permit me one more specific question: The infamous Mr Hlinka has made public a report that, allegedly, you gave instructions to representatives from the Nitra District in the matter of the construction of a church, apparently, with these words: We are not in such a situation that we have to make concessions to the church.

[Janku] If I may use the somewhat un-grammatical but pointed popular saying, then, the above-mentioned person simply "trumped up" this report. The representatives of the Nitra District did not visit me at all—for the very reason that these issues do not come within the jurisdiction of the federal secretariat. What is more, it is our fundamental principle to resolve problems openly by way of a dialogue and serious agreement with the church.

GDR Justice Minister Arrives on Working Visit

LD0808090289 Prague CTK in English
0823 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 8 (CTK)—Deputy Premier of the German Democratic Republic and Minister of Justice Hans-Joachim Heusinger arrived here today for a short working visit at the invitation of the Czech and Slovak minister of justice.

His talks will focus on questions of legal policy and tasks of the two countries' justice in the present period.

Cardinal Offers To Mediate Roundtable Talks

LD0808085289 Hamburg DPA in German
0732 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Prague (DPA)—Against the background of increasing tensions in the CSSR, Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, the archbishop of Prague, in an open letter, has warned the country's leadership and the citizens against open confrontation. It was learned from circles close to the archbishop on Tuesday that the cardinal has indirectly offered his services as mediator for a "round-table"—after the Polish example—of the leadership and the pressure groups.

The cardinal was received in Prague on Tuesday [as received] by Deputy Prime Minister Matej Lucan who listened to the cardinal's remarks "with great interest." The official report on this first meeting between the cardinal and a member of the presidium of the CSSR Government gave no details, but was phrased in an extremely conciliatory tone, speaking of the "mutual intention" to cooperate for the country's peaceful development.

The tensions in the CSSR are due to the impending anniversary of the invasion by the Warsaw Pact troops of the CSSR on 21 August 1968. The leadership has taken that occasion to announce measures against opposition groups.

CSSR Faults Israel, Urges Restraint in Lebanon

AU0808093989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
4 Aug 89 p 1

[CTK report: "The Czechoslovak Standpoint on the Situation in Lebanon; We Condemn All Forms of Terrorism"]

[Text] Prague—The situation around Lebanon has again become dangerously aggravated in recent days. In his statement on Thursday [3 August], Ivan Kulhanek, spokesman for the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said:

The reports arriving from Lebanon are alarming. The direct cause was an act of state terrorism—the kidnapping by an Israeli commando of a Shi'ite representative, Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim Ubayd. This is not the first time that Israel has overtly interfered in Lebanon's internal affairs. It also continues to grossly violate Lebanon's sovereignty by occupying the southern part of the country. Any acts of violence, especially in tense situations, elicit an undesirable escalated reaction. The CSSR has always condemned and condemns all forms of terrorism, be it kidnappings, assassinations, taking hostages, or murders of hostages, since they can completely slip out of control and, also, be used as a pretext for a direct military intervention. We are convinced that the current tragic developments in the situation in Lebanon can be halted only with the maximum of restraint and prudence by all involved parties in the interest of peace not only in that country, but also throughout the entire Middle East region.

Details on Planned Changes in National Army

AU0708204089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
5 Aug 89 p 2

[Article by Vladimir Palan in the "In Reply to Readers' Questions" column: "Changes in the Army"]

[Text] Reader L.P. from Olomouc writes: "My son is about to begin his basic military training. I have now learned about some changes in our Army. What changes are these? Is it possible, in this connection, for my son not to be called up?"

On the basis of a decision of the State Defense Council published on 28 January this year, organizational changes in the Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA] will be carried out in the years 1989-90. The document passed by the State Defense Council is in harmony with the defensive military doctrine of Warsaw Pact member states. The measures arising from it are of great political significance as they reflect the endeavor of our state to ease tension in international relations and to strengthen peace in Europe.

As we have already reported, in the period in question the number of soldiers in CSLA combat units will be lowered by a total of 12,000 men and the Army's building organizations will be reinforced by a minimum of 20,000 soldiers. The existing railroad troop units will be reinforced as well. In other words, the changes do not involve discharges from military service or nonconscription for military service. The organizational changes will concern altogether some 30,000 persons, 4,000 of them professional soldiers and 900 civilian Army employees. They will be carried out in more than 200 CSLA units and establishments.

According to a CSSR Government decision, members of the building and railroad units will mainly participate in projects connected with the ecological program, in reconstruction projects in the West Bohemian border zone, in the modernization of the housing stock in designated localities, and in the renewal and maintenance of railroad tracks.

The number of tank and air force regiments will be reduced. Over a period of time, a total of 850 tanks, 165 armored personnel carriers, and 51 combat aircraft will be put out of service and scrapped. Tanks designated for the removal of spare parts and some components will be transferred from combat units directly to repair shops. Following the tanks' dismantling, their bodies, turrets, and other metal parts will be sold to metallurgical plants. The scrapping of armored personnel carriers will be carried out in the military repair shops in Trencin.

Bids have already been invited for the utilization of discarded tanks. The organizations which have expressed an interest include the Labe River Basin Hradec Kralove enterprise, Trinec Iron Works, Construction Geology Prague, Slovak Stone Industry Levice, Transport Vehicles Research Institute Prague, and others.

A tank regiment in Ceske Budejovice, the gradual dismantling of which started on 1 August 1989, is one of the first military units affected. (We reported about this on 2 August.) Its tanks will be transferred to repair shops for conversion into scrap or, partly, to depots. The ammunition will be liquidated or used by other units for the purpose of firing practice. Fuels and other gear and materials, too, will be handed over for further use in the Army. The vacated barracks will be at the disposal of a newly formed CSLA construction unit.

Public Silence on Attacks on Party Deplored

AU0708123389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
4 Aug 89 p 5

[Article by Rudolf Jurik, head of a Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee department: "The Art of Political Struggle; A Few Remarks Addressed to Communists in Culture"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Our party, similarly to the Soviet Communist Party, pursues the path of the policy of openness, public access to information, and discussion. We want the working people, those in the sphere of culture and the arts, to come to understand the Communists' intentions; we want them to understand our decisions and aims and to endorse them fully.

All kinds of questions are arising in the community of writers. These questions are being raised by older and more experienced writers as well as by those who represent the younger generation and are only starting out. In this connection it is impossible not to mention the seminar and conference at Budmerice, where a number of negative assessments were made with regard to official politics. It is interesting that none of the writers of repute, including those who were present at Budmerice, has responded to these assessments. What is even worse is that even party groups, whether in the Slovak Writers' Association or at the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Socialist Republic [SR], are silent, as though the problems of criticism of the party's cultural policy and of the managerial structures, that is, of the Slovak SR Ministry of Culture and Government, did not concern them at all. It is interesting that the youngest generations are making themselves heard, raising their questions and pronouncing their judgments, but that there is no one to reply to them. Is this evidence of the strength or of the weakness of Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] organizations and of the CPSL Central Committee Culture Department? Or should we perhaps be satisfied, considering that in the Czech SR the "structures" are appealing for open confrontation?

Democracy needs to be learned. Ideological confusion is being mistaken for democracy. Adherence to class principles is being presented as a sin, although it is in dialectical unity with culture. [passage omitted]

Political demagogy sometimes prevails over reality. Culture forms a bridge between nations, but it must not be a bridge of destabilization.

Restructuring is not here because someone invented it, but it is a return to Marx and Lenin. [passage omitted]

Discussions about the sixties and the seventies are being conducted. Time will pass an objective judgment on us. What matters is that we should not make it appear that there was nothing but darkness in culture in those years. Negativism cannot be our program. In the future, too, not everything will be ideal. An open discussion is not a goal in itself, but a means of arriving at the truth. The stage of bans is over; it is a matter of the past. However, what should follow this stage? Where shall we go from here? With whom will you go, masters of culture, masters of the written word, masters of the arts? Cultural policy must mend its ways itself, of its own accord. A higher level of knowledge provides the possibility of deeper insight. No one has removed from the artists responsibility for their work. Nor has anyone removed responsibility from other officials. I believe that it would not be correct or wise to succumb to the pressure of some artists of the Slovak National Theater who, struggling for their group interests, want to push through "their" candidates, without regard for national interests. The Slovak SR Ministry of Culture and the [CPSL Central Committee] Culture Department must put matters on a correct foundation. Communists in the Slovak National Theater, in particular, must deliver their opinion. As before, and also today, in the process of restructuring, culture will occupy a dignified place. I want to convey thanks to the leading and managing cadres in culture for their support and coordination of cultural policy, for not having permitted anarchy and disintegrating tendencies, even though there has been enough goading and initiatives, launched by various structures. Every sensible artist is able to distinguish the truth from its opposite. We would not be objective if we presented matters as absolute, if we failed to differentiate, if we did not concede the possibility of mistakes and errors. On balance, however, it was essentially the artists themselves who decided on cultural issues in Slovakia in the last decade, whether this concerned admissions to artists' associations, the organization of exhibitions, concerts, and tours abroad, the sale of works of art abroad or on the domestic market, and so forth. [passage omitted]

Restructuring requires a firm ideological unity of party ranks; without this, it is unthinkable to want to operate as the political vanguard of society. We do not want to conceal the fact that overt attempts at casting doubt on our ideological foundations are to be found today. This is done by those who are unable, or unwilling, to separate the living soul of Marxism-Leninism and its dialectics from deformations and antiquated approaches. [passage omitted]

I believe that we have reason today to speak about manifestations of various elements of petit bourgeois ideology not only in the minds, but in the practical deeds and specific conduct of people, including party members. [passage omitted]

Given a certain social tension in the atmosphere, it was unavoidable that forces have appeared which consciously seek to discredit the party, its bodies, and Communists. Regrettably, not always have they encountered, and encounter, the appropriate resistance by party committees, party organizations, and the public. This also touches upon the activity of the party Central Committee.

During his recent visit to Leningrad, Comrade Gorbachev stressed that, while in the public square passions are running high, in many party organizations there is silence. It is a dangerous silence.

We all must master the art of political struggle, the political method of work among the people. The time in which we live moves fast. The situation in society is changing rapidly. This requires the party's effective and swift response.

The main thing is to do everything conceivable for our party to grow steadily in strength, for the growth of its energy, influence, and revolutionary vigor. I am also saying this, among other things, because doubts have arisen in parts of our society whether, in this stage of fast-paced changes, the party is not backing away from what it has declared.

In the present complicated situation it would be irresponsible not to fear for the fate of the party, because it is also the fate of restructuring, the fate of our country and of socialism that are at stake. It often happens that emotions prevail over reason. It is impossible not to see that certain forces are taking advantage of restructuring, forces which are trying by all possible means to discredit the party and the entire state, to deliberately confuse the healthy organs of the state with bureaucratic ones, and healthy elements of the economy with those that need to be changed.

Now, in particular, as Communists are getting ready to assess at annual members' meetings of primary party organizations their work, their activity in the workplace and in the residence, as they are getting ready to take stock of their place in society and of the effectiveness of their work in implementing the line of restructuring society and the entire economic and political system, it is necessary to understand these aspects of life.

Greek Party Official Interviewed on Coalition

AU0808080789

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 4 August carries on page 6 a 1,200-word interview with Yeoryios Papapetros, member of the Greek Communist Party [KKE] Central Committee, by Bratislava PRAVDA external 'collaborator' Silvia Stavrakakis, headlined "KKE's cooperation with the right wing—a shock for many people; continuing to strengthen the left wing," on reasons which have led the KKE to enter into a government coalition with the New Democracy Party.

Papapetros says in part that "regarding our current 3-month old government, our thesis is still valid that with the new democracy party, an in-depth cleansing of public life cannot be carried out, and that only our coalition is the cleansing's guarantee. However, we think that with this government it is possible, above all, to forestall the hushing-up of affairs. In any case, something will be done, with the help of pressures, of course, which the coalition will exert within this government.

"However, a long-term government cooperation with the New Democracy Party is impossible, because our programs are diametrically opposite," he said.

New Newspaper Published in Ceske Budejovice

AU0808083189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
5 Aug 89 p 2

[Report in the "By Telex, Post, and Telephone" column]

[Text] NOVY ZIVOT [New Life] is the title of a new newspaper which expands the size of the local press, this time in the Ceske Budejovice district. It will appear on Fridays. The newspaper's publishers are the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia District Committee and the Ceske Budejovice District National Committee. Its editorial board will pursue the aim of improving the flow of information to readers in this economically most important district of the South Bohemia region. More than 171,000 people live here and the Ceske Budejovice District is the last of the eight regional districts to have a regional newspaper.

British Aerospace Offers BAe 146-QC to CSSR

AU0308151689 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 31 Jul 89 p 5

["sts"-signed report: "Silent Helper; a 24-Hour Aircraft; Possibility of Cooperation Discussed in Kunovice"]

[Excerpts] On the world transportation aviation scene, there have already been several aircraft described as "the most silent." Nowadays the British Aerospace 146 aircraft, propelled by four—of course supersilent—jet engines, is being described as supersilent.

In mid-July our experts had the opportunity to become acquainted with the BAe 146-QC aircraft, when—on a demonstration trip throughout Europe—it landed at Ruzyne Airport. [passage omitted]

Representatives of the Czechoslovak Airlines and of some other organizations conducted talks with the British manufacturer. Also part of the demonstration in Czechoslovakia was a flight from Prague to Kunovice, where the possibility of cooperation and collaboration in the production of small transportation aircraft was again discussed in the Let enterprise. During the talks with the British Aerospace company, the manufacturer offered to deliver the BAe 146 aircraft. However, it is too early to answer the question whether the "supersilent helper" might possibly complement the aircraft pool of our aviation company.

Bonn Warned on Emigration Aid to GDR Citizens

LD0708174289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1622 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—For some days now, the Federal German media has been conducting a vociferous campaign on behalf of some GDR citizens who are being granted an illegal stay in the FRG Embassy in Budapest and who hope to gain illegal entry into the FRG. As Dr Denis Ruh, deputy spokesman for the GDR Foreign Ministry, explained in Berlin today, such behavior on the part of foreign representatives of the FRG represents a serious intervention into the GDR's sovereign affairs.

As reports over the weekend imply, the Bonn Foreign Ministry now has intervened in this campaign, as well. They should know that, according to international law, FRG embassies have no right to act on behalf of GDR citizens in matters such as travel and visas. The assumption of so-called responsibility for looking after citizens from other countries on the part of the FRG is a typically pan-German presumption which must be most emphatically rejected, the spokesman stressed. Attention is firmly drawn to the fact that both official government intervention from Bonn in the GDR's sovereign rights, and campaigns that degenerate into attempted blackmail of other countries may result in serious consequences.

In connection with this, it should be borne in mind that the GDR has established legislation on all these matters, most recently in the directive on travel of GDR citizens to other countries dated 30 November 1988. The generosity with which this directive is administered is shown by the figures of foreign travel, which also are known in Bonn. In the 1 January-31 July 1989 period, for example, 3.5 million GDR citizens made visits to nonsocialist countries, including 3.288 million to the FRG and West Berlin. Bonn also is aware of how considerate the GDR can be in bringing families together, in accordance with its regulations. The Bonn authorities should not worry about matters that do not concern them, unless they want to jeopardize all the positive developments in this area, Denis Ruh explained.

The activities in which the FRG presently is engaged can lead only to a strain in relations between the two German states, the spokesman's statement continues. The GDR also will not allow its traditionally close and positive relations with the Hungarian People's Republic to be strained by machinations of this kind.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman emphasized, in conclusion, that the GDR expected that Bonn would show some restraint. The federal capital should be aware of the implications of its actions and should not lightly endanger what has been achieved already.

Commentary Warns Against West German Revanchism

LD0808033889 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1605 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Commentary by Harold Schaeffler]

[Text] Alfred Dregger, the chairman of the CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union] group in the Federal parliament in Bonn has, as the West German news agency DPA put it, stoked up the border discussion again. Under international law, the German Reich continues to exist within the borders of 1937, he said in an interview with a magazine, showing by this remark that the comments made by his party colleagues Waigel, Wilms, and others are not the usual displays of soapbox muscle-flexing or simply gaffes by old stick-in-the-muds gathered together at their revanchist meetings.

This is quite clearly a verbal attack on security in Europe, kept alive by certain elements and repeatedly revived. There is then talk of an open German question, of legal standpoints. One must, according to Dregger, be allowed to go on to say what qualifies as a legal position, using a ruling by the federal constitutional court as a yardstick—as if a ruling by some national court or other could annul international law and replace it with its own legal constructions.

Sensible, pragmatic politicians, even in the Federal Republic, are of course perfectly aware of this, and for some, the federal chancellor included, the discussion is quite clearly embarrasing. But the fact that, apart from his remark that he would rather not participate in this discussion, he has not unambiguously objected to it, shows how strong these forces in his party and in the CSU are.

The remarks made in public by Waigel, Wilms, Dregger, and other politicians are, however, only one side, although indeed an important one, of these phenomena. The frightening increase in the influence of and the popularity of neo-Nazi associations, parties and organizations must not be overlooked. And neither must the attempts to spread the revanchist school of thought, particularly among young people, which is the intention, for example, with the sale to FRG schools of revanchist maps by the so-called Inter-German Ministry. The Bavarian regional branch of the teachers trade union GEW, which is demanding the withdrawal of this material, has sharply condemned this ideology of a greater German Reich in which Bonn lays claim to Germans living in the GDR, parts of the People's Republic of Poland, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia.

In this respect according to the GEW, an attempt is being made to pass off extreme right-wing utterances as normal and respectable. That is precisely what it is all about, for one can not fail to notice the connection between the various, worrying manifestations of neo-Nazism and the attempts by those who like to call themselves democrats to suck up to the neo-Nazis.

In the footsteps of other CDU/CSU politicians in the FRG, West Berlin CDU leader Diepgen has now also gone to great lengths to give the neo-Nazi Republicans a clean bill of health. The Republicans, Diepgen explained in a newspaper interview, are not a fascist or even a far right-wing organization. It is ludicrous to portray the party as one which will never be a suitable coalition partner. If Lummer, the extreme right-winger who is rather well known for his affinity for both old and new Nazis and who has also already thought aloud about a future coalition between his party and the Republicans, was to go over to their camp, the Republicans would, according to Diepgen, easily get up to 15 percent of the votes in West Berlin. Lummer will not, however, change camps, for, according to Diepgen, he will continue to have an important place in the CDU in the future.

This is how the pieces all fit together. The decisive part played in shaping the character of the FRG by proven Nazis and war criminals, the past, which consequently has always been suppressed but never dealt with, and also the social inefficiency and incapacity of the system, which becomes more and more apparent every day—all this has caused many people to remain susceptible and just as many others to become susceptible to the slogans of brown-shirt rabble rousers. Nobody would dispute that a large number of the Republican voters originated in the CDU/CSU electoral clientele. The naked fear of the loss of governmental power is now circulating and that is why people like the black-brown Lummer have an important place in the CDU. That is why there is no end to the string of important people in the CDU/CSU who are speaking out revanchist demands.

The fault of German imperialism in starting World War II is being called into question, there is much drivel about the German reich with the borders of 1937, about a purportedly open German question and there is no regard for a piece of foreign policy china that gets broken in the process. The realities in Europe, in particular the balance of power, are such that the door is closed to anyone thirsting for revanchism. Nevertheless, such sounds remain dangerous, since they poison the international atmosphere. They hinder, indeed they jeopardize, the path to greater security and cooperation in Europe. To everyone who values greater understanding between the states and peoples, revanchism is and remains simply intolerable.

Reaction to FRG Criticism of Economy Rejected

AU0608145289

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLND in German on 3 August on pages 3-4, under the headline "The Crisis of Ute Reinhart, and the Reality in the GDR," carries an 8,000-word article signed with c.k./d.b.. in reaction to a report by Ute Reinhart in the West Berlin newspaper TAGESSPIEGEL.

The writers of the article in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reject the criticism of the GDR economy by "GDR specialists" of the FRG who are only interested in "the elimination of socialism, as well as the integration of the GDR, parts of the Polish People's Republic and the USSR into the FRG." The article points out that "in the GDR there has been an average 4-percent growth in the produced national income since 1971," and that the growth in the GDR's national income "has been superior to that of capitalist countries when looked at over a longer period of time."

The authors go on to point to the improvement in housing conditions and the excellent health sector in the GDR. They point out that the population's "level of education is much higher in the GDR than in the FRG." They reject attempts to "force" the system of market economy upon the GDR and stress the advantages of the planned economy by mentioning that the "state-owned combines in the GDR have a secure future."

Subsequently the authors respond to alleged shortcomings in the field of technological innovations by stressing, among other things, that in the GDR "a total of 70 percent of the construction of machine tools and processing machines sector are being determined by microelectronics today," while the FRG has to import the major part of microelectronic components from the United States and Japan.

The article ends with the confirmation that the USSR will "continue to be the GDR's main trading partner and that the GDR is actively responding to the structural changes that are taking place in the USSR." Finally, the authors emphasize that "socialism has held its own in important parts of the world" and that it will continue on the road toward the future.

Perez de Cuellar Receives Ambassador Zachmann

AU0808091989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Aug 89 p 1

[ADN report: "UN Secretary General Pays Tribute to GDR Peace Policy"]

[Text] New York—UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar received Ambassador Siegfried Zachmann, the GDR's permanent representative to the United Nations Organization, in New York on Wednesday [2 August] for an exchange of opinion on current international issues. In this talk, Zachmann expressed the expectation that the 44th UN General Assembly would adopt important resolutions on the improvement of the international situation, in particular on the continuation of the disarmament process, on the peaceful solution of regional conflicts, and on shaping equal international economic relations. He said that the incipient change

Pozsgay Queried on Preparation of Party Platform

LD0708182889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Interview With Imre Pozsgay by correspondent Sandor Forgacs in Velem on 7 August—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Imre Pozsgay, having come back from his vacation, opened the Savaria Summer University on Urban Studies in Velem in the morning [7 August]. Sandor Forgacs interviewed him.

[Forgacs] From the manifestations of recent weeks, it appears that the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] is concentrating more on daily skirmishing with the political opposition and less on working out a program which would offer a satisfactory prospect for the country, and within this, naturally for the (?village).

[Pozsgay] I believe that this is only how it appears. The preparation of the party platform is taking place with very great efforts and amid pressing circumstances. It is a platform which the congress can accept, naturally after great debates with the membership. Parallel to this, I believe that the MSZMP will also have to work out a separate election platform, where it replies directly, in a concrete manner, to certain government issues. Preparation for this work has also taken place. This phase of activity is not exactly spectacular, and in truth it is somewhat concealed by the moving about, by the political skirmishing which is taking place at the political conciliatory talks.

I have just been on vacation for 2 weeks; thus, others substituted for me in this role and capacity. I, too, only know what I have been able to read from the newspapers about this. It appears that this negotiation has also come to a turning point. I do not consider the situation to be hopeless, and I do not consider it to be lacking in prospects, whatsoever. Only with conciliation and negotiations will we be able to achieve a national consensus. Thus, such a platform is necessary; the MSZMP is preparing itself with this platform.

[Forgacs] The MSZMP was defeated, with its candidates, in the by-elections. In your view, to what extent can this be attributed to the fact that the MSZMP does not yet have a declared platform, or at least, even the draft has not yet been made public?

[Pozsgay] Let us not be unjust toward the candidates. I am not acquainted with all of their personalities, they without doubt carry the responsibility which the party must carry, and they live through the consequences of this, in their own success or failure. I, however, would like to add that not only did the lack of platform cause this defeat, but to a greater extent it was the responsibility which burdens the MSZMP for the rule of the past 4 decades and for the handling of the current crisis. It appears that the MSZMP still has not been able, to a sufficient extent and in a convincing manner, to show society that it is no longer the party that was the manager, and in part, the cause of this crisis—but that it is a renewed party where the upper hand has been gained by the wing and the forces that for decades have struggled for a model-change, for a transformation, a radical transformation, which could lead the country out of this crisis.

I trust that with a clear political platform, as well as with an election platform that also touches on government, as well as with a good personnel policy and with unequivocal speech, the MSZMP could considerably improve upon its position, as compared to what it achieved in the by-elections. I cannot say more than this, because I am not caught up in enthusiasm when I see these election results. However, I would consider self-deceit to be an enormously great crime, if only because it was easier to hope in a better situation than this one. A better situation must be created.

[Forgacs] While you were on vacation, the opposition roundtable and the MSZMP continued their negotiations. Most recently, they did not manage to come to agreement in the debate surrounding the party's property. Could the negotiations be broken off because of this?

[Pozsgay] I do not view this to be a sufficient reason for the negotiations to be broken off. Much weightier political issues than this figure in the conciliatory talks. My opinion is that if we take seriously the peaceful planning of a transition, it is necessary to come to agreement in the election law, in the institution of president of the republic, in planning the paths leading to this—thus in announcing the elections. In this event, sooner or later, the other issues which have now run aground at the negotiations with the opposition could get on the agenda.

HDF Presidium Member Views Election Results

LD0708142189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] The most important domestic political event is the evaluation of the results of Saturday's by-elections. This will obviously be the subject at the Presidium meeting of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF], the unequivocal winners. Our studio guest is university teacher Gyorgy Szabad, a member of the national Presidium. How do you assess the results?

[Szabad] The HDF evaluates soberly the results of the by-elections now concluded. I think all of us can weigh up the circumstances that now, as opposition candidates will take the field, the results of the opposition will be much more divided. At the same time, the HDF sees as strengthened the fact that in the ranks of the opposition, the electorate, and national, perhaps international public opinion, considers the HDF as one of, or perhaps I dare say, the strongest opposition team.

[Announcer] As a member of the national Presidium, you are obviously aware of the HDF's activity in the whole country. Are there suitable candidates in other districts, too, who can stand with a chance of success at general elections which must at some time be declared?

[Szabad] Inasmuch as we intervene in appointing candidates—I would like to emphasize that the three victorious HDF candidates were appointed by the local organizations—I repeat, inasmuch as the Presidium's opinion is asked, and the Presidium takes a stance, then it always weighs up, and will weigh up, the capabilities of the candidates to successfully represent their electors on a national political level and successfully cooperate in the democratization of the country.

[Announcer] Some people say that at the elections, both those already held and those in the future, the electors are primarily saying no. However, the HDF is now obviously taking this as a yes. What is the difference between this 'no' and the 'yes' to your candidates?

[Szabad] I think that the 'no' is for the antidemocratic past, while the yes confirms the democratic future. At all costs, we must take note of the circumstance that there can be many variations on democracy. The HDF formulated very concretely what it wanted to achieve at the elections—in no way the whitewash of every possible opponent. Our evaluation is that the numerous other trends of the opposition have a place in the formation of a democratic Hungarian future, and we consider it obvious that a Hungarian Socialist Workers Party which is capable of reforming itself also has a place in the construction of the future.

Party Spokesman Comments on By-Election Results

LD0708194889 Budapest MTI in English
1715 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 7 (MTI)—"As you can see from the results of the parliamentary by-elections held over the weekend, we haven't yet managed to nip in the bud the loss of confidence in the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party]," Laszlo Major, spokesman for the HSWP Central Committee, said on Monday.

"What characterized the elections was a pronounced attitude of refusal rather than going for a new manifesto and plan. I should stress, though, that no one should jump to far-fetched conclusions."

The HSWP should overcome the loss of faith within its membership and do away with the sense of guilt forced upon it from outside, Mr Major stressed. "Therefore, the HSWP's relationship with its own past needs sorting out. We should also put paid to the trend of generally renouncing the past indiscriminately—this goes hand in hand with anti-communist and anti-socialist attacks in places. We cannot achieve victory in withdrawal. In the first place, we should reinstall unity and solidarity within the party," the HSWP Central Committee spokesman said.

As it said at its Monday session, the Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) was pleased with the results of the weekend by-elections. They think the great majority of voters support candidates of local MDF organizations and the MDF manifesto. Gyorgy Szabad, a member of the MDF Presidium, told MTI that the elections proved MDF's aspirations right. The Presidium was aware that during the coming elections, they would have to share the results with other democratic opposition forces, but they trust that these forces will be capable of putting up a united front to take the country through the process of democratization. The MDF thinks that an HSWP undergoing renewal and accepting a democratic multi-party system will also have a place in the public life of Hungary built on free elections.

The Presidium decided to brief the domestic and international press on August 9 on what they have learnt from the by-elections.

Hungary Receives Invitation to Nonaligned Meeting

LD0708150389 Budapest MTI in English
1304 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, August 7 (MTI)—The coordinating office of the non-aligned countries have decided to invite the representatives of the Hungarian Government to the 9th conference of the heads of states and governments of the movement, to take place in Belgrade from September 4 to 7.

On behalf of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Budimir Loncar, federal foreign minister, sent a letter of invitation to Foreign Minister Gyula Horn on Monday. In the letter, Mr Loncar emphasized that the movement highly appreciated Hungarian interest in the activity of the nonaligned countries.

At the request of MTI, Deputy Foreign Minister Jozsef Benyi confirmed that the two foreign ministers had recently discussed the topic.

Strikes Threatened Over Uranium Mines Closure

LD0708131689 Budapest MTI in English
1225 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 7, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Miners at the Mecsek uranium mine in southern Hungary are planning large-scale protests for the end of August, to bring attention to government plans to end uranium mining in Hungary. The possibility of a nationwide miners' strike in Hungary before the year is not ruled out.

An official for the miners'union said that the government's case for closing the loss-making uranium mine is not at all convincing. Some months ago, the news that uranium mining in Hungary would end by 1993—the year the Soviet-Hungarian interstate agreement expires—came out of the blue for uranium miners, the trade union official added. Now the Soviet Union has informed Hungary that the agreement may be suspended as early as this August resulting in the loss of nearly seven thousand jobs.

The Mecsek Ore Mining Company (southern Hungary) is granted a state subsidy of 2.5 billion forints (USD 40 million) a year and the entire output is delivered to the Soviet Union, in accordance with an agreement which is in force until 1993.

Should production end in August, the union maintains, there are still viable outlets on the world market with no political obstacles to selling the ore wherever there is demand.

The total annual production of uranium in Hungary is still a state secret, but, according to unofficial sources, the total output is enough to fuel the 1,760 megawatt nuclear plant at Paks, with another 1,000 megawatts to spare.

The Hungarian Government is due to present a draft proposal on the close-down by September 2.

The government has neither confirmed nor denied news of plans to also close down the loss-making Mecsek collieries, and lift price controls on coal for private consumption.

Trade Ministry Loosens Socialist Import Quotas

LD0808084189 Budapest MTI in English
0720 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 8 (MTI)—Hungarian companies will be permitted to import freely from socialist countries in the value of uncontracted import quotas, the Ministry of Trade announced. They said during the first seven months of 1989, Hungarian exports to socialist countries amounted to 4,600 million roubles, 5.1 per cent more than the year before, while imports were at 4,200 million roubles, 3.6 per cent down against the same period last year. The balance of payments showed a 733 million rouble surplus in late July. Therefore, the ministry permitted that any company could make contracts for uncovered parts of the quotas with socialist partners, with special regard to the USSR, Poland and Bulgaria. Major imports are also expected from Cuba, the GDR and Romania.

Bekes County Protests Ilie Ceausescu's Visit

LD0708150989 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1000 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Newspapers on Saturday [5 August] reported that the Defense Ministry does not agree with the opposition protest in Bekesmegye—a protest against receiving Ilie Ceausescu, the Romanian deputy defense minister, on an official visit to Hungary. Does the Hungarian Democratic Forum official from its Bekescsaba organization accept the view declared on the omnipotence of talks? Eva Cseh has spoken to Zoltan Szokolay.

[Begin recording] [Szokolay] Relations between the two states, and unfortunately in the recent period between the two peoples, have deteriorated. Putting this to rights is, we think, not the task of the armed forces, but that of diplomacy, people's diplomacy. It transpired from this interview that Ilie Ceausescu is to visit Hungary. This is the Ilie Ceausescu in whose so-called historical studies there are numerous factural errors and statements which gravely offend the Hungarian nation as an ethnic entity.

Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati is attacking precisely those Hungarian diplomats, politicians, and Foreign Ministry experts who would like to settle these relations through talks. We understood from his words that he disapproves of the frank statements made by Gyula Horn and Csaba Tabajdi. He takes these statements as unsettling the population. The population is made up overwhelmingly of adults; their confidence is gained if they are given adequate information.

In this area, here alongside the border, there is a real fear regarding a possible Romanian military intervention. In the middle of July, two armed Romanians ventured into Hungary as far as (Vaditanya), the border of the town of Gyula. Or, it is also a subject of discussion that in the area of the Majvad woods, between the Black and White Koros Rivers, we never meet Hungarian frontier guards. They also remember in the villages along the border that in 1956, substantial help arrived from Romania for the strangulation and then defeat of the revolution—they sent over hundreds of agents, and weapons to the internal security forces in Bekes County. However, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] has not distanced itself from those groups, even today, who would be glad of a Romanian-type creation of order. I am thinking of the Marxist Unity Platform, Mr Ribanszki, Roland Antonevics, and another noted National Assembly deputy, Frigyes Puja, who said that Hungarian foreign policy is responsible for the deterioration of Hungarian-Romanian relations. We do not think this is so.

[Cseh] If we talk about this, we can cause mass hysteria or mass fear, that is, we can shock the masses. I have thought a great deal about what is more correct, to talk about this or suppress the facts. What is a fact is that here in Bekes County, people are afraid.

[Szokolay] It is definitely reassuring to talk about these things. Unfortunately, particularly in the case of the armed forces, and in relation to the local county MSZMP, this is not what we experience. It seems as if along the party line, and in relation to the armed forces, fraternal relations were undisturbed. It is characteristic that the county MSZMP daily paper, the Bekes County

NEPUJSAG censored the most significant last paragraph of our letter, the passage taking a stand alongside Gyula Horn, as opposed to Mr Karpati.

The meetings between the county leaders of the two parties, the MSZMP and the Romanian Communist Party, including the most recent one in April 1989, exemplify that here alongside the bloodstained border, the dogma of proletarian internationalism is flowering smoothly, and that on the party level, relations between Hungary and Romania are unblemished.

We democrats from Bekescsaba declare ourselves to be the friends of the Romanian people and the brothers of Romanian Magyarsag, but we do not accept a fraternal fellowship with the institutional representatives of one of Europe's blackest dictatorships. [end recording]

Correction to Former Romanian King Interview

AU0708163989

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Budapest TV Broadcasts Interview" published in the 7 August East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 9:

Make subslug read: [From the "Panorama" program; interview by unidentified Budapest Television reporter with former Romanian King Michael in Geneva, Switzerland; date not given; King Michael speaks in English, with superimposed Hungarian translation; the end of the interview contains a short portion in Romanian, with subtitles in Hungarian—recorded]

Page 9, first column, paragraph four, last sentence make read: ...Voivode of Gyulafehervar [Grand Voivode of Alba Iulia] for the throne... (providing editorial notation with the crown prince's exact Romanian title)

Page 9, second column, first paragraph, sentences two to three make read: ...so did the Legion. In the end... (confirming queried word)

Page 9, second column, paragraph 12, penultimate sentence make read: ...court adjutant, Baron Ioan Mocsonyi-Stircea, the king's confidante... (correcting name)

Page 10, first column, paragraph two, sentence two make read: ...through the defense line of the Prut River and the German... (confirming queried word and providing name of river)

Page 10, first column, paragraph seven, make read: ...accompanied by General Sanatescu who was the... (providing name)

Page 10, second column, first paragraph, penultimate sentence make read: ...at the right—Gheorghiu-Dej and Ana Pauker... (correcting spelling of name)

Same Paragraph, last sentence make read: ...in the end Gheorghiu-Dej asked for an... (correcting spelling of name)

Page 10, second column, paragraph three, sentence two make read: ...or more precisely Gheorghiu-Dej—blackmailed me by... (correcting spelling of name)

Page 10, second column, paragraph four, sentence two make read: ...them, Luca and Patrascanu were executed a... (correcting name)

Page 11, first column, paragraph five, only sentence reads: ...outraged me because he uses human beings as cattle and he sells... (rewording)

Page 11, first column, paragraph six, only sentence reads: ...the presence of Princess Margaret, the oldest... (correcting word)

Page 11, first column, last paragraph of item, only sentence make read: ...generally would prevail. [new paragraph]

[King Michael, speaking in Romanian] I have been accused of being a monarch. I have always been a constitutional king, by respecting human rights and reestablishing the 1923 Constitution, according to which all citizens of the country enjoy the same rights, irrespective of their ethnic origin and religious belief. However, today Romania is an absolute monarchy, in which each person is the property of the state. Romania has a dynasty that does not reign successively, one member following the other, but all at once, bleeding our rich country dry. (providing omitted final statement)

Article Assesses Washington's Foreign Policy

AU0708170089 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29-30 Jul 89 p 7

[Article by Marek Podkowinski: "The New Bush Doctrine"]

[Text] Let us recall the following: When he was still vice president of the United States and a Reagan policy representative—the Reagan doctrine was one of political poaching in Eastern Europe and was intended to be a reply to the Brezhnev doctrine (intervention in the event of disobedience with regard to Kremlin policy)—George Bush, speaking in Vienna (2 September 1983), said: "Our policy is a policy of differentiation. This means that we are following the extent to which countries pursue an autonomous foreign policy and press forward with a liberal internal policy. The United States will develop closer political, economic, and cultural ties with countries such as Hungary and Romania, which display greater openness or independence...."

In other words, at that time Washington foreign policy amounted to the use of "carrot and stick" tactics. I assume that today Romania would no longer enter into the picture, and I also think that President Bush's thoughts would no longer revolve around the strategy of so-called "containment," as that has lost its former pertinence. When he was in Eastern Europe, especially in Poland and Hungary, Bush did everything possible to avoid driving a wedge between Moscow and the capitals of Eastern Europe. This is borne out by the positive moves toward General Jaruzelski, which the American press has been highlighting as if to stress that the new U.S. policy toward the East no longer centers on differentiation, but on finding a common formula for action aimed at promoting detente in the eastern part of Europe as well.

Bush did not come to Hungary and Poland to buy greater progress toward democratization in our countries, but to convince himself and those that he spoke to that the path to a common European home does not lie along the old route of provoking disagreement but in finding a new relativist formula. The United States has thus abandoned the old "containment" route, which only served to cement the iron curtain and the arms race.

Gorbachev's policy has made the Brezhnev doctrine lose its meaning and the likelihood of being implemented. Reagan's doctrine has been discredited not only by the changes that have taken place in Poland and in Hungary but also by what is happening in, for example, Romania. As W. H. Luers, the former U.S. ambassador in Prague, said in as conservative a paper as the WALL STREET JOURNAL (11 July), "President Ceausescu has ceased to be our man in Eastern Europe." Fritz Wirth, DIE WELT's correspondent in Washington, observed that a telling feature of President Bush's Eastern Europe policy is the fact that the head of the White House came to the Paris conference of the seven most industrialized countries in the capitalist world via Warsaw and Budapest in order to set out his new view of Eastern Europe at the forum.

We should add that this has become possible, because this is surely the first time since the end of World War II that the United States and the USSR have a common interest in Eastern Europe that goes beyond an open conflict and the preservation of existing borders. It would appear that Chancellor Kohl's government is the only one that still has not fully understood what is taking place in the White House concerning this subject, and that President Bush has long since emerged from the shadow of Reagan's patronage and sees the United States as having a leading role to play in alleviating conflicts in Europe. What is more, both world leaders, Gorbachev and Bush, are doing everything within their power to stop the competition between them from manifesting itself in the acceleration of the arms race and intervention in third countries, and to make it take the form of finding a common formula for action that will lie in the interest of their countries and their allies along the ideological border that still exists although in a much less pronounced form. Today, Bush's colleagues openly talk about the "new President's doctrine," which differs from the fading doctrine of his predecessor in that Reagan sought to force his doctrine through by using weapons and dollars, which resulted in the memorable Irangate scandal, whereas President Bush is basing his doctrine on the changes that are taking place in the socialist countries under the slogan: "We will help you if you are able to help yourselves." This applies to both democratization and the economic reforms.

Bush did not set off for Eastern Europe to play the role of the wealthy American uncle, but as a politician who has noted the changes that are taking place in the USSR and does not intend to propose anything behind Gorbachev's back. He gave his views at the meeting with his allies in Paris, where he scored a success that confirms his leading role in the Western world, a role that had somewhat diminished in recent times. The reception that he was given in Warsaw, Gdansk, and Budapest bolstered Bush's position in Paris in the way that the success of Gorbachev's visits to Bonn and Paris reduced competition between the two leaders to the peaceful presentation of the possibilities that they see for creating world peace. This has made a rapid "summit" between the two statesmen necessary, because matters other than disarmament must enter the sphere of common interests.

This is because as long as Eastern Europe is struggling with economic problems, it is difficult to talk about peaceful development in Europe. It has now transpired for the first time that what lies in the interests of both sides is not the search for those things that are divisive, but finding those things that unite. This is what Soviet perestroyka and the new Bush doctrine are based on. The American President provided proof of this when, during his visit to Poland, he said that he was pleased that on this occasion he could invite "both sides," the government and the opposition, to his dinner table, and he avoided doing anything that could could give rise to disagreements or misunderstandings following his visit. Bush has abandoned the poaching approach, as he has realized that a "consolidation period" is essential for both sides.

One of the key elements of this doctrine is that the United States cannot fail to display interest in Eastern Europe, especially at a time when the Christian Democratic Union still thinks that the privilege of poaching in the East (Poland and the GDR) that Dulles granted Adenauer is a right that in a sense stems from "being neighbors" and has become the property of Bonn in perpetuity. Mrs Rozanne Ridgway, a former U.S. ambassador in Berlin who became one of the key European affairs figures in the State Department, was always of the opinion that Washington has to be present in Eastern Europe (in a positive sense). Today one can say that the Dulles line in U.S. German policy has suffered a serious setback. The debate surrounding the Adenauer letter with respect to the permanence of the Odra-Nysa border has been given coverage in the American press, but not in a form that would please Messrs Waigl and Czai, in fact it has been the very opposite of that and has even seen caution on the question of German reunification. The lack of a response from the State Department and President Bush is evidence of the changes that are taking place in Washington in this area of policy as well. American public opinion does not like the way in which Bonn has responded to change and not only in Eastern Europe. This is particularly true of Poland and the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II. Bonn has a bad press in the United States in this respect. It is sometimes even so critical that it prompts dislike of the American ally in the FRG. Some journalists are described as being anti-German.

The changes taking place in the socialist countries, and in the USSR above all, must have an impact on countries that pursued anticommunist campaigns at one time. Soviet affairs experts in the United States must withdraw their books and politicians have to revise their views. Everything is in a state of flux, said one of the old-timers. That is why the world is waiting impatiently for a Gorbachev-Bush meeting, and the time has come to provide a precise definition of the front-line.

Bush's policy at the present time indicates that he has drawn appropriate conclusions from the old tactics of differentiation with respect to socialist countries and is currently seeking ways of promoting understanding among all the peoples of Eastern Europe.

Rakowski Interviewed on 14th Party Plenum

AU0708120489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Aug 89 p 1

[Interview with PZPR First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski by PAP reporter Adolf Reut: "The Most Urgent Task is to Propagate the Resolution of the 13th Plenum"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Reut] Could you tell us more about the date of the 14th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Plenum?

[Rakowski] Although the party's work never slackens, intensive preparations for the 14th plenum will not start until the first week of September, on account of the holiday period. I believe that every single plenary meeting of the party leadership must be prepared well and exhaustively. This is of particular importance this time, because the 14th plenum will deal with preparations for the 11th congress. The latest 13th plenum resolution provided much food for thought on this subject.

[Reut] Are you not afraid that the contents of this resolution will be overshadowed by the flood of very important events, even in the minds of party members?

[Rakowski] It is difficult to hide one of our weaknesses, the fact that we adopt many interesting documents that illustrate a new party approach toward the problems of today, and later it turns out that broad sections of party members have no knowledge of the important assessments, proposals, and objectives contained in these documents. I advocate a very careful and thorough examination of party documents, especially by party members. Every political party must do its utmost to see to it that its members know what the party leadership intends to do. This knowledge is essential if activity is to be effective. I think the most urgent task today and tomorrow is for party cells to fully inform all party members about the contents of the 13th Central Committee plenum.

[Reut] You look tired. How is your health?

[Rakowski] All right, thank you. I try to look after it. I go swimming every day.

[Reut] You were in a clinic on Tuesday.

[Rakowski] I experienced, how would you say, a temporary weakness brought on by fatigue.

[Reut] What kind of psychological mood are you in?

[Rakowski] I think I know what you mean. In this respect I also feel well, even though heavy criticism of the government was voiced in parliament, especially by the opposition. As for an objective assessment of the work of the government that I headed for 9 months, I have no worries. Historians will give an objective assessment of what we did, if not today, then in a few months time, or perhaps in a few years time.

Right now any assessment is colored by opposing views. Therefore, this is a sign of a political struggle. I accept and understand that, which does not mean I praise biased views like that.

Rakowski Intervewed on Health, New Office

LD0708222089 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1845 GMT 7 Aug 89

[From the 'Panorama' program; interview with PZPR First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski by unidentified correspondent; in Warsaw, date not specified; interview conducted in Polish with superimposed Hungarian translation;—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] The Polish opposition wishes to fob the supply problems off on the Rakowski government. Mieczyslaw Rakowski was recently elected first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. His new office has elicited contradictory opinions both in Poland and in the world press. This, among other things, is what I talked about with First Secretary Rakowski, who speaks in his new workplace for the first time in the world to "Panorama."

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Do you consider it conceivable that perhaps you will be taken to court, since this is what Solidarity wishes?

[Rakowski] No. Solidarity and the parliamentary opposition, for exclusively political reasons, staged the entire production in which they criticized government. In my view, their objective was to discredit me, the person who had been nominated as first secretary, since this fuss began directly prior to the Central Committee plenum. There are clever people in the opposition, and they know very well what kind of role I played in the opening-out, what kind of role I played in preparing the roundtable talks. All this is written down. So are the famous eight questions of mine, which I presented to the PZPR 10th plenum, and which opened up the path to the Polish transformation. So they are unnecessarily acting as if some kind of enormous misfortune might now have occurred. In connection with the economic situation, the opposition only criticizes, but it has not yet submitted any program on a solution to the current crisis, moreover, in a different manner from how we envisage it.

As regards my government's activity, this government really initiated an enormous opening-up in economic life. The problems exist not because of this government committee basic mistakes. The difficult decades of an economic and political practice of an orientation entirely different from the present are behind us. And now the time has come when it is necessary to pay for all this—but not in the sense of our going to court. The entire thing is nonsense.

[Correspondent] How is your state of health, since you will need good health for future activity? They say you were in hospital.

[Rakowski] In truth, I was not in hospital. I only had to go in for examination, not for medical treatment. I had disturbances in heart rhythm. However, according to the examination my heart is like a large bell, that is I am entirely healthy, only I pushed myself too much physically and mentally, as well, and it is time I went on vacation. This disturbance in rhythm was not a serious matter. I am trying to pursue a healthy lifestyle. I swim a half- kilometer daily. I take long walks. So, as they say, knock on wood, I am as fit as a fiddle.

[Correspondent] I imagine that in this difficult situation not many people would have undertaken the position of PZPR first secretary. Why did you accept it?

[Rakowski] First, because that was the intention, the will of the Central Committee. I should like to recall, that from among the 212 members of the Central Committee, 171 voted for me to be first secretary of the Central Committee.

Yet, I understand the question: You would like to find out my personal opinion, feelings—I could say my relationship to this position. Well, I accepted it because in my view the situation is very difficult within the party. I believe that jointly with my colleagues, with the members of the Politburo and the Secretariat, as well as with the party membership, we shall manage, within the foreseeable time, to prove that the party is in the vanguard, not just in initiating reforms, but in everyday life. I could also say that I have set ambitions—naturally communist ambitions, because not only is it a matter for position, function. As you have said this is not an easy function, it does not offer much joy, indeed, not even a good general disposition, either. It certainly would be better and more comfortable for one—for me especially—after such long, political work, to stand aside and to criticize.

[Correspondent] As far as I remember, approximately 9 years ago, in 1980 or in 1981, you said in an interview to Oriana Fallaci, if I am not mistaken, that you like power, that you are attracted by power. Does this have anything to do with your having accepted this position?

[Rakowski] No, I did not say that. I am not at all the kind of person who likes power. I said—and by the way it is valid to this very day—that I have always been interested in power, from inside. For long years, I was a journalist, and I watched, viewed power from the outside. Since according to my qualifications I am an historian, and that is also my hobby, I was of the opinion that it would be interesting to get inside. However, I am not a person who likes power, since to be frank, if one is a political writer or journalist, he essentially has greater power than the Central Committee first secretary, or even the prime minister because it is mostly the mind, thoughts, consciousness that (?develops) power.

[Correspondent] I wanted to ask you about that. What kind of power does the first secretary have nowadays? Since there is a strong president of republic and government has been given great independence. What place do you occupy in this political environment?

[Rakowski] Without doubt, a triumvirate was formed in the recent past, a few days ago, which directly works together. Here I am thinking of Comrade Jaruzelski, the president of republic, of General Kiszczak, the prime minister, and myself, the first secretary. It is extremely favorable from the viewpoint of the Polish political situation, and also my party, that this trio has worked together for long years, since 1981, and between us there is no tension, no difference. As it is said in Poland, we step together in unison, we progress together. There is no unhealthy competition between us.

[Correspondent] Thus, does this amount to pluralism in the party? And what is pluralism like in Polish political life? For example, how is power distributed between the party and government?

[Rakowski] Pluralism undoubtedly exists in Poland, but the situation must be avoided in which pluralism turns into dualism. That is, the opposition is on one side while the party and its allies are on the other. Such a situation could develop, but it would not be favorable. In the interest of society's healthy development, we need a multi-colored political map, and not two poles. As a result of the roundtable talks and the elections, a new situation has developed, and for example, it would be quite strange if government were to be criticized in Parliament not only by the opposition, but also by the party that created this government, and if the allies were to do the same, without exception. This would give cause for misunderstanding. Thus, this situation makes it necessary for the party-government relationship to be altered. In this issue, I profess that we should follow the practice of bourgeois democracy. If, for example, in the FRG the Social Democrats form their own government, it is natural that the Social Democratic Party in Parliament will not criticise government, but will vote for what the government submits, what it represents.

[Correspondent] However, differences of view can exist in political life. Do you agree that various currents can exist within the party, too?

[Rakowski] A variety of views is a necessity within the Communist Party, of which I am a member. At the same time, these differences have their own limits. For example, if one enters a political party, he must accept the organizational statutes of that party. If he enters any party, he must renounce part of his personal freedom. I have no objection to a variety of views, to the contrary. In my opinion, there would be a need for a colorful bouquet of views that differ from one another, but only to a certain limit because beyond the limit, it is not a political party, but a debating club. Anyone can found a club.

[Correspondent] And freedom of platforms?

[Rakowski] I do not yet have a crystallized standpoint in this issue, because, among other things, in this part of the world the communist parties, and essentially the entire international communist movement are now living in a period of distancing themselves from the legacy of the past. I recall that the concept of the party, in which I, too, began my activity, was shaped by Stalin, or at least by Stalin's generation. It is not easy to turn away from this concept. For me, personally, it is not so difficult, but I should like to point out that this, too, is an historical process, since all that we are talking about takes place in the people's minds.

The gray matter is not the same material as, let us say, a desk, which can be shaped with a plane, and thereby gain a different shape. It is not possible to remold, refine the human mind with a plane. And I imagine that years will still elapse before the communist movement shapes satisfactory internal structures, a certain structural set-up, and within this, an organizational construction, which enables the operation of various kinds of platforms.

[Correspondent] Much has already been written about this, and to be sure, it will be written about in the future,—one day you are considered a reformer, while the next day you are branded as being hard-line. What are you, in truth?

[Rakowski] Look, I shall not reply to this question, or I shall only do so partially. Look at what I have been writing for 20-odd years. Glance into the weekly POLITYKA which I edited from 1957, and regarding which we can say that it always proclaimed changes, it always demanded reforms. I am acquainted with the opinions you mentioned—most of them are stupidity, nonsense. I am closely bound to socialism, I have linked my life to socialism. For a long time I have proclaimed that this system must be reformed. I shall only remain like this. The scribblings to the effect that I am conservative, hard-line, are simply ridiculous, and for this reason do not particularly interest me. I do not attribute any significance at all to these suppositions. My objective is to do my utmost so that the party should be at the vanguard not only in initiating reforms,—since it was our party which launched the reforms—but also in everyday life. As regards what kinds of things some people write, just let them write—in the final analysis that is what they are paid for. [end recording]

Rakowski Attends Zeran Car Factory Meeting

LD0708145189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Excerpt] With the participation of Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee, a meeting of party members, workers of the [FSO] car factory at Zeran [in Warsaw] has begun. Zbigniew Rudzinski, first secretary of the party factory committee, who greeted the guests, spoke of the situation of and organization of labor in the enterprise. Director Henryk Oleniak drew attention to the economic situation of the enterprise. [passage omitted]

More on Rakowski at Factory

LD0708213589 Warsaw PAP in English
1451 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 7,—"No program will change reality if people do not change it," stated PUWP [Polish United Workers Party/PZPR] Central Committee First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski at a meeting with representative of the crew of the FSO car factory in Warsaw which was attended by members of the factory's party activists, and managerial and trade union cadres.

Greeting Rakowski, First Secretary of the factory PUWP Committee Zbigniew Rudnicki briefed the meeting on the activities of the plant party organization which gathers about 2 thousand members in 25 basic organizations and on the discussion being held among party members on changes in party work with a view to boosting its effectiveness.

FSO's director Henryk Oleniak presented this year's production plans of the factory as well as the production and social problems troubling the crew. At the same time he drew attention to many question marks looming over the factory's future such as unknown sources of hard currency financing and its volume.

Most of the questions put to the PUWP first secretary during the discussion concerned the party's future, the scope of its reform, the position and role of the PUWP in the political life of the country and among workers crews.

Referring to the statements made during the discussion, Rakowski said that the party leadership was aware of the discussions about the PUWP's future. They are necessary to overcome the estivation in which we have found ourselves as an ideological and political formation. Every manifestation of activity in the party should today be greeted with satisfaction, Rakowski pointed out. Referring to statements on the need to hold the 11th PUWP Congress yet this year, the PUWP Central Committee first secretary stated that this was impossible because the Congress could not limit itself solely to creating declarations. The Congress has a chance of becoming a breakthrough one provided it is preceded by broad discussion among the 2 million party members and appropriately prepared, the PUWP central committee first secretary stated.

The party must become a driving force of the process of transformations. It must wage struggle to remove all barriers which hamper the normal functioning of the state organism. Partisanship is not however necessary in politics, Rakowski said. Referring to statements on the role of the opposition he stated that he was completely prepared to pursue constructive cooperation with the opposition.

The meeting was attended by PUWP Central Committee Political Bureau member, first secretary of the Warsaw PUWP Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz.

Rakowski Addresses Army Activists in Warsaw

LD0708130689 Warsaw PAP in English
1807 GMT 5 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 5—While addressing the debate of the Polish Army PUWP [People United Workers Party] activists here today, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski thanked for the wishes conveyed to him by the participants in the meeting on the occasion of his nomination to the post of the PUWP Central Committee first secretary. "I am fully aware of the great burden of responsibility I took on myself at the last stage of my active political life," said he.

"The Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat may successfully fulfil their tasks and achieve goals included in the resolutions of the 10th and 13th plenary meetings, provided our work is supported by real activity—not declaration-like one—if not of the entire party then at least of these PUWP membes whose fervent desire is to rebuild the weakened position of the party in society."

"I know that this wish is not a wish of individuals, not of thousands, but of hundreds of thousands party members. I am asking them for an active work for the benefit of overcoming a barrier of inability, of breaking up with practice of hiding in corners in the face of demagogic attacks against the past 45 years, against historic achievements of the Polish left in the revolutionary changes that took place in this country," went on Rakowski.

"One of the conditions necessary to enter a straight road is the existence among party members, and especially among its activists, of a feeling and conviction that there is a lasting spiritual link between the party base and its leadership. As far as I am concerned, I promise that I will take care so that this link be not a dead declaration," Rakowski said.

"Officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the basic military training—members of the party, many a time in the past were a strong support of the people's rule. The situation is the same today and, I believe, it continues to be in future."

"Now, comrades, the party is waiting for convening the 11th congress. In many party milieus there is livening up a discussion on the state of the party, on its current and long-range tasks. This is a positive fact. The leadership of the party is welcoming this livening up with great satisfaction, especially when care for the future of the party is expressed by its rank and file party membes."

"I repeat this not for the first time: We do not have any reasons to creep on our soil. We can and we should look boldly and with our heads up our every compatriot in the eye," Rakowski said.

Kiszczak Meets With Opposition Officials

LD0708185289 Warsaw PAP in English
1813 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 7—Polish Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak met today with chairman of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) Jan Dobraczynski and with chairman of the Polish Catholic-Social Union Wieslaw Gwizdz.

Also today the premier met with Deputy Jozef Lochowski, activist of the United Peasants' Party and specialist in farm mechanization.

Walesa Proposes SD-ZSL Coalition Government

AU0708154989 Paris AFP in English
1446 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 7 (AFP)—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa has called on the Peasants' Party (ZSL) and the Democratic Party (SD) to form a coalition government without the participation of the Polish Communist Party, in a statement that reached AFP Monday.

The ZSL and the SD, which have respectively 76 and 27 deputies in the Diet (parliament), have until now been associated in power with the Communist Party.

After legislative elections in June, in which Solidarity won a crushing victory over the ruling coalition, the small parties moved away from the Communists and are seeking their own way.

PAP Cites Walesa Coalition Proposal

LD0708202389 Warsaw PAP in English
1940 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Gdansk, Aug 7—Chairman of "Solidarity" Lech Walesa today presented a statement to PAP saying that he would like to form a government basing on coalition between Solidarity, the United Peasant Party ZSL and the Democratic Party DP. The statement said:

"For 45 years power has been monopolized in Poland by one party—precisely this state of affairs, combined with the socio-economic system shaped in these conditions, constitutes the cause of both the deep economic, political, as well as moral crisis. The basic needs of the nation remain unsatisfied both in the material sphere as well as (despite improvement) its right to fend for itself.

"The recent decisions made by the authorities on designating a new premier prove in a clear way that the to-date monopoly is to be preserved. This deepens the crisis of confidence and is a confirmation for society of its apprehensions that nothing had in fact changed, that there is lack of hope for a (better) future.

"Taking account of all of this, I once again firmly speak about against Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak forming a new government. The only political solution in the present situation in the formation of the Council of Ministers basing on a coalition between "Solidarity", the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party which I will strive for."

Politburo Report Presented to 13th Plenum

AU0108161489 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
29-30 Jul 89 pp 3, 4

[Report by the PZPR Politburo read by Politburo member Janusz Reykowski at the 13th Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 28 July]

[Text]

The Social Situation in Which the Decision To Hold Elections Was Made

The decision to call elections and the associated concept of a new structure for the highest authorities of the state was the result of the party's newly formulated strategy at the 10th Central Committee Plenum. This strategy has been elaborated over a long time. The Sixth Central Committee Plenum which took place in autumn 1987, and the Seventh Plenum in June 1988 also played an important role in this process. At the base of this strategy was the situation in which our party, country, and almost the whole socialist camp found themselves. This situation can be described as critical. The roots of the crisis lie in the fact that for the last 20 years the model of socialism which had grown up in our country had exhausted its development possibilities. This also holds true for other countries of our community, and the fundamental changes which are happening in other countries, for example in the Soviet Union and Hungary, testify to this. As regards our country, the seventies saw artificial attempts to prop up the existing economic model by helping it with credits from the West. It did not succeed in rescuing it from the crisis which came at the end of the seventies. During the last 20 years, several attempts have been made to reform the economy. These, however, were not successful. Bearing in mind the ineffectiveness of the attempts to restore the economy and the situation in other socialist countries, which indicated that economic stagnation and the low level of response to social requirements was not a problem unique to us only, we came to the conclusion that we had to reject the present economic model and elaborate a new one.

The situation in which we now find ourselves is not unique in the annals of mankind. In other socioeconomic systems there have been many periods of tension and conflict brought about by the need to fundamentally restructure the whole economic system when that system began to obstruct development. Looking at the history of capitalism from this point of view, one easily sees what great costs society had to bear; costs which fell mainly, but not exclusively, on the poorer classes at times when the major changes were taking place. The phenomena of the loss of livelihood of many groups, the loss of the basic economic security of worker and peasant families, mass unemployment, loss of work-places, and the material and moral degradation, have always accompanied these periods of transformation. It is only in the last 20 years that capitalist countries have been able to develop means and methods which can soften the social consequences of economic change. It does not mean that changes in those countries take place painlessly. Generally speaking the costs of these changes are not as grave as they were in the thirties.

As regards Poland, attempts at reforming the present economic system were first undertaken in the early eighties. It soon became apparent that the speed and effectiveness of the reforms left a lot to be desired. This was inevitably coupled to the grave situation in which our country found itself: debts running into billions, the sanctions imposed by the West, and the collapse of the economy which resulted from the dramatic conflict in Poland in 1980-81. This however does not alter the fact that the reform of our economic model was running into difficulties and met opposition from many sides. With the passing of the years our party began to feel that our setbacks in the economic sphere and our inability to effectively reform the economy were linked to the method of exercising power.

Specifically, it was becoming more obvious that the system in its present shape was too weak to decisively implement all the changes which economic reform demanded.

The method of exercising power, shaped in the forties and based on the principles of monocentrism was unrelated to the contemporary advanced forms of social life. The development of these forms and especially the social advance which was occurring through education and civilization caused the depth of pluralism in our society to spread. The monocentrist system of exercising power remained at variance with the increasingly stronger desires of various sections of society to have a political voice and a fuller participation in political life. This system gave rise to conflicts which it could no longer solve. What is more, it continued to support the outdated economic structure and impeded the implementation of reforms. The visible form of the conflict which began to surface in our country was the development and the formation of a political opposition. Political opposition has existed in Poland for a very long time now. There is no period in our postwar history where there has been no opposition. It had various extents and levels of influence on society. For some time now the influence of the opposition has been increasing substantially, especially among the workers, the intelligentsia, and in the very large enterprises. In the last few years the opposition philosophy has attracted a large part of the younger generation and has begun to become radical. Further evolution in this direction could have had grave consequences. A very worrying aspect was the fact that the opposition was outside the political system. This had a destabilising effect on the way the state functioned. Every social conflict becomes sharper as a result of absorbing political slogans and political demands, and this was apparent in the wave of strikes in 1988. What is more, such an opposition has the privileged position of not bearing any responsibility, and the difficulties which are encountered in pushing through reforms only serve to strengthen it. This can only act as a barrier to reforms and lead to paralysis. Taking into effect all the above conditions, the Central Committee came to the conclusion that a fundamental restructuring of the political system in our country had become imperative.

The Strategy for Restructuring the Political System

The main purpose of restructuring the political system has to be to make changes that guarantee a consolidation of the socialist state and make it capable of carrying out essential economic reforms.

Consolidating the state is impossible if broad sectors of society feel alienated and if the opposition expresses the views of major and numerous sections of society that have found themselves outside the political system. Consolidating the state is also impossible if it fails to fulfill society's democratic hopes. Aware of these conditions, we formulated a strategy of political reforms. This strategy called for an inclusion in the political system of a constructive opposition willing to respect the political reality in our country and take part in gradually reforming this reality. A factor that encouraged this inclusion was the positive changes that had occurred among the opposition as a result of the experience of recent years, especially martial law. However, there was no question of coopting the opposition to become a part of the political system, not just because the opposition contained major forces that would never have agreed to such a coopting, but also because there would have been no sense in doing so. Coopting the opposition would have deprived it of much of its social support, and an opposition deprived of support could not have played any role in solving the country's problems. Therefore, the only alternative was—elections.

Deciding to hold these elections, we realized that our political system was not ready for competitive elections. Until then, the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], exercising power together with its coalitional allies, had been the mainstay of state stability and a pillar of the political order. Therefore if the PZPR had lost the Sejm elections, the functioning of the state might have been disrupted and its stability lost, with dangerous consequences. Such a danger had to be taken seriously.

Under these conditions, it became necessary to reach an accord on the Sejm's political structure, in other words an agreement not to hold confrontational elections to the Sejm. Obviously, such an accord limits citizens voting rights and narrows the scope of democracy, which could weaken this representative body's authority. Criticism from society might also have been heard.

Taking the above considerations into account, the party and its allies proposed the kind of Sejm election rules that heed the principle of nonconfrantional elections and, at the same time, give the citizen broad possibilities of establishing representative bodies. The rules allowed citizens to nominate candidates not only for the ruling coalition's chief bodies and "Solidarity's" Citizens Committee, but also private individuals who had collected a sufficient number of signatures to be entered on the list of candidates.

The introduction of competitive elections to the Senate was a major step along the road to greater democracy. This was a major political step that could, and did, have a major impact on Poland's domestic and international situation.

As for the internal situations, it is thanks to the Senate that the opposition shares much greater responsibility for state affairs. The opposition's involvement is very important for the success of the reform and the stability of the country in a difficult transitional period. Competitive elections to the Senate answered the wishes of broad sections of society that had never accepted the formula of parliamentary representation that we had been applying over the last 40 years. These elections took place under conditions of political security because parliament's composition was agreed on during talks and guaranteed a majority in support of the prosocialist coalition.

Another important argument in favor of competitive Senate elections was the conviction that a competitive election struggle would encourage the party's transformation into a genuine, militant political force. It was believed that this was a matter fundamental to the party's future—a party that prefers to administer and cannot fight for people's minds is doomed. Considering the fact that the political changes in our country foresee the possibility of the next elections being completely competitive, it seemed essential to commence now a competitive election struggle that also guaranteed the coalition's majority in the Sejm.

Competitive Senate elections might have favorably influenced the world's opinions about Poland. This is of more than just psychological significance. A positive opinion of Poland can create a favorable backdrop for the solving of Poland's problems.

The proposal to hold competitive elections did not forestall the rules according to which these elections should be held. Two versions of the rules were considered—majority representation, and proportional representation. Guided by the reasons given in the document entitled "A Report on the Political Preparations for the Sejm and Senate Election Campaign," which you were given, comrades, that version of the rules calling for a majority representation was chosen.

When containing such thorough political reforms as introducing the opposition to the political system and making the elections much more democratic, it was only to be expected that this might create many new political situations, including a change in the role of the PZPR, a PZPR no longer enjoying an absolute majority in the Sejm. Therefore it was essential to create an institution that guarantees the state's political continuity, stability, and security; the alliances concluded earlier; and evolutionary nature of changes. For this purpose, it was decided to create the office of president, equipped with appropriate powers.

The shape of the new political mechanisms, which I have outlined, forms the base on which the process of democratization, a process of creating a new democratic order, can be built in Poland. It should be an order which in a practical way implements the basic values of socialism—social justice and the principle of people's power—and creates in Poland a citizen society. The fundamental basis of this order is the social ownership of the means of production as the dominating principle. However, we are now talking of a different concept of social ownership, one which will succeed in overcoming the alienation of the worker, something which the state centralized economy has not been able to achieve. It is also important that the nationalized economy should become much more effective. The implementation of this new order has to occur in an evolutionary way so that it does not threaten the stability and the security of the country. An important stage in this process was to provide opportunities for the free association of citizens in social organizations, the shaping of union pluralism by the legalization of the union arm of "Solidarity," and the participation of the opposition in the exercise of parliamentary power, by the principle of noncompetitive elections to the Sejm, and competitive elections to the Senate.

The Date of the Elections

The strategy in whose name the new state institutions were created and the elections, whose object was to bring the opposition into the political system, were called, was implemented hastily. The necessity of moving quickly was dictated by the following: the economic situation in Poland which was worsening and the social tensions which were increasing would have a negative effect on the election campaign; the rapid organizational growth of "Solidarity" made it imperative that legal solutions were found to accommodate this growth, otherwise there could have been a real danger of confrontation; and the structure of a new political system needed to be put into place before opposition activity had further developed, in order to create parliamentary parameters within which this activity could take place. If this had not been done, Poland would have been faced with a repetition of 1981. Today, when some people are questioning the wisdom of this and whether the elections took place too soon, one has to pose the following question: What would have happened if we had kept the present political system in a largely unchanged form? What means would we have had to solve the social conflicts that we are already seeing and may have to deal with in the coming months? We can leave these questions unanswered as they are rhetorical questions.

Our Election Campaign Strategy

The principles of our election strategy were dictated by an assessment of the situation and our chances. At the time we decided to call the election, we calculated, based on various surveys, that the party and its coalition could count on the support of about 30 percent of the population. The opposition, according to earlier survey figures, could count on the support of 20-25 percent of the population, but its support was increasing. Especially notable was the rapid rise of the popularity of Lech Walesa. At the same time it was known that individual coalition candidates were receiving positive reactions from over 50 percent of the population. It was considered that with an appropriate choice of candidates we might be able to achieve more than the estimated 25-30 percent. This was being confirmed by information from the central party organizations as well as from the regional ones (at least from most of them). It has to be admitted that our estimates proved incorrect because it was believed that the Catholic Church would remain neutral in the election campaign. However, in spite of a neutral stance maintained by the majority of the episcopate, an overwhelming majority of the parishes joined in the election campaign on the opposition side.

Taking into account the above conditions, it was accepted that the best chance of securing a positive result would be a good selection of candidates for the Sejm and Senate. These would have to be people who could command the trust and respect of the voters. This in turn impacted on the way we organized ourselves for, and went into, the election campaign. The choice of, and support for, a candidate had to be decided by the regional organization because it was in the best position of knowing local possibilities and needs. It was accepted that voivodship election committees would independently select candidates and decide on the best form of organizing their campaign. This assumption is now being questioned. It is believed that a uniform, binding system of selecting candidates—the free hand which was given to the regional committees—complicated the work of the election teams and hindered the reaching of an understanding with the coalition as to the choice of best candidates—in this way the lists became too long and this in turn led to the campaign propaganda effort being dissipated. One has to admit that in several instances the choice of the local party committees did not always sufficiently consider the qualities of the candidates and his chances of gaining voter support. It was accepted that the main aim of the publicity campaign had to be the presentation of the candidate and his political program which was to be tailored to the particular locality. This took in the local specific factors in which the election was being fought but, in a way, it was abused. It appears that party candidates often hid the fact that they were representing the party, and in the election campaign concentrated exclusively on the local issues, ignoring the national aspect. This often resulted in a negative reaction from the electorate.

The PZPR candidates election campaign was supposed to be based on joint programmatic principles. That was why the National Congress of PZPR Delegates adopted the "PZPR Election Declaration." However, not much of the contents this declaration were used in the campaign.

The campaign was also supposed to conform to the "roundtable" decisions. It was held that such conformity would encourage an expansion of political culture in our country and prevent a radicalization of moods. At the same time, the election struggle was expected to lead to a militant and sharp campaign by the opposition, with the possibility of dangerous social tension. Therefore the central authorities produced materials meant to prepare regional authorities to counteract attacks by the opposition. However, in many cases, we proved incapable of counteracting the opposition's polemics. So one can understand why some of our comrades claim that we waged our election campaign "in white gloves" and should have been more militant.

It was accepted that in order to win the election, election propaganda should be focused on only a few candidates. Therefore in every senatorial voting district, we had to choose two (in Warsaw and Katowice, three) candidates with the greatest chances of being elected, and concentrate our election propaganda on them. This did not succeed, because the coalition's election committees were unable to agree on this issue.

The Course and Results of the Campaign

Four chief factors determined the course and results of the campaign:

1. Society's criticism of the forces that exercise power, a result of the fact that the party and its allies were unable to overcome the long socioeconomic crisis, which has affected society to an even greater extent recently. The realization that Poland is increasingly behind other countries, that social life in Poland is badly organized, and that society's needs are only partly fulfilled made many people question the party's political line. As a result, "Solidarity" as a new force not yet burdened with

accumulated failures attracted a lot of hope for an improvement to the situation. It was easy to explain the new movement's weaknesses by the fact that it had to act under difficult conditions caused by the authorities.

2. A rapid deterioration of the socioeconomic situation during the campaign. This occurred on various fronts. Deserving particular mention are the peasant strikes, caused by profound dissatisfaction in rural areas over state policies. These events weakened the rural electorate. It must be stressed that when we prepared the election rules, we took into account the experience of previous elections, when the rural electorate generally supported the authorities candidates. However, a preliminary analysis of the present elections indicates that a major part of the rural electorate did not vote for the authorities candidates at all. This has been pointed out by party aktivs from Kielce, who have written: "Urban communities believe that the 'abysmal' and still unresolved agricultural policy was the main reason for the election result. The government did not act with consistency and determination."

In the months before the election, the market situation clearly deteriorated, and some sectors of the market collapsed. This had a negative effect on moods in large conurbations. Comrades from many voivodships pointed this out. For example, someone from Krakow wrote: "Social dissatisfaction has been caused by the increasing inflation, escalating prices, and disproportionate wages between the state and private sectors. There have long been market supply shortages. There is an absence of such basic commodities as meat products, sugar, and cheese. Gasoline supplies are very irregular. There has even been a shortage of cigarettes, alcohol, and matches. Supplies of industrial goods are not enough to satisfy even 10 percent of the demand. The continuing shortage of medicines is causing a dramatic situation."

Comrades from Lodz wrote in a similar vein: "If the party leadership thought it would obtain decent results, that shows how naive it is or how ignorant it is of society's moods. The disastrous market situation and chronic lack of food and industrial articles, of which Lodz is a glaring example, dictated the outcome of the elections in advance. It is difficult for the average citizen to vote for the coalition if one can see a kilometer-long queue for gasoline from the polling station, and the day before the voting one sees nothing but empty shelves in the shops."

The wave of strikes caused by wage claims continued, albeit with varied intensity. These strikes created a climate of tension and disorganized social life. They reduced the authorities prestige, and thus harmed the coalition's candidates.

3. The party's weakness as a participant in the political struggle. A party grown accustomed to monocentric power over long decades and to functioning by largely administrative means was unable to fully convert to functioning by political means, and was unable to fully realize the dangers that existed. This is illustrated by the fact that the National Conference of PZPR Delegates possessed no pre-election fever. In many places, the efforts of leadership bodies at various levels were concentrated on "internal" activity, in other words long hours of talks, arguments, planning, and organizing of election undertakings by a single group of people. Larger groups of aktivs were not mobilized into performing election tasks. Not only was there was a failure to mobilize social organizations that are ideologically close to us, including youth organizations; even a major part of the primary party organizations were not drawn into the campaign. As comrades from Plock wrote: "The party has not changed its activity in a revolutionary way, and has not marshalled all its members, who would have worked for an election victory with total dedication."

Party members did not participate to the required extent in collecting signatures or in creating an election fund. They did not actively involve themselves in political discussions at meetings with opposition candidates or in the distribution of election posters and party leaflets. The intensive campaign of information at the polling stations was unsuccessful. Comrades from Wroclaw wrote: "There was a lack of party information booths at the polling stations. The party is still best at organizing congresses, but it is not good at publicity campaigns. Not bothering to communicate in the mass media the fact that a candidate represents the party must also count as one of the errors of the election campaign."

It also became apparent that the party has precious little support from those circles of society which command social respect.

4. The errors in planning the campaign and the way it was fought. In the planning and the execution of the election campaign several grave errors were committed. First, it was wrongly assumed that the church would remain passive. It was considered that active church participation on behalf of the opposition would not be commonplace occurrence. Events proved otherwise, and it became clear that nearly all parishes joined in the campaign on behalf of the opposition. This participation created a ready-made organizational structure for the opposition and played a very important part in the shaping of public opinion.

Second, the chances of coalition candidates were overestimated. In many of the central, regional, and even factory party organizations, there was unfounded optimism related to the chances of success of the candidates which we were putting forward. This optimism had a negative effect on a whole string of decisions; especially it resulted in the wrong choice of Senate electoral rules, namely, the majority variant, instead of a proportional one.

Third, the election publicity campaign was allowed to be dissipated on many candidates. The sort of campaign in which we found ourselves required a concentration of maximum publicity on a few selected candidates so that they could gain wide public recognition. Instead, in many regions, even up to the final days of the campaign, it was not unanimously settled which of the candidates should be actively publicized. One cannot blame the electoral law for this. The causes for this state of affairs have to be sought, above all, in cooperation difficulties within the coalition, as well as in the lack of clearly specified and generally binding regulations on the selection of candidates. The difficulties of this cooperation have been raised already. Our comrades from Krakow advised: "Our suggestions of calling for an election strategy pact within the voivodship went unheeded and it was only in the last days before the election that our coalition partners agreed to accept joint trusted observers and a concerted publicity campaign on election day."

Our inability to concentrate our resources caused the dissipation of our publicity effort, and the result came over as an incoherent jumble.

Fourth, the efficiency of our election organization was low. The process of candidate selection took far too long. We were unable to carry our publicity campaign onto the streets. The time to prepare and distribute campaign posters was too long. In many localities necessary preparations were not completed.

Fifth, as a result of bad estimates we chose the wrong alternative in the compilation of the national list. It was argued that the national list was to secure a required level of continuity between the 9th and the 10th Sejm, and that it would include people who had substantial parliamentary experience, and those people who represented very large social organizations. Nevertheless, the dangers which stemmed from such a list were not sufficiently appreciated. No sufficient safeguards were created (more candidates than available places; the second round of voting). Moreover, as a result of the length of time in compiling this list, no opinions were sought or listened to, from the wider circles of the party aktivs. The Central Committee did not receive a copy of the proposed list. This caused a negative reaction in the party rank-and-file and produced a negative reaction to the candidates. Complaints concerning the national list have come in from many places.

The Election Results—An Assessment of Consistency

The results of the elections were highly disadvantageous to the coalition. It did not win a single seat in the Senate. The candidates on the national list did not win the required number of votes, and almost none of them were elected. Coalition candidates were not elected to their assigned seats until the second round of the voting, and candidates supporting the coalition did not gain a single nonparty seat. Only one seat was won by a person connected with neither the coalition nor the Citizens Committee. Such an election outcome is being presented as a crushing defeat for the coalition and as proof that our entire strategy was wrong. Some comrades even concluded that "the party leadership had reached decisions on the basis of faulty assessments of the sociopolitical situation, underestimated the strength of the opposition, did not consider the conduct of the church, and ignored society's sharp criticism of the present market difficulties." However, when assessing the election results, one must view the election in a more sober way.

One cannot fail to notice that when the coalition earned the votes of about 25 percent of the electorate (in the case of the Senate elections), and also earned about 48 percent of the votes for candidates on the national list, it turned out to be not just a minority, but a significant minority. In any case, despite the opposition's election victory, such an election result nullifies its claims to represent Polish society as a whole, and also proves the falsity of the rhetoric whereby the social conflict in Poland is a dual between the authorities and society. This is made all the more obvious by the fact that as much as 38 percent of the electorate did not vote at all, even though they had been summoned to do so not only by the coalition, but most of all by the intense propaganda of the "Solidarity" Citizens Committee, and also by the church.

As for our strategy, when assessing it, one cannot separate various elements of this strategy from each other. The adopted principle of nonconfrontational and democratic elections to the Senate and for the office of president, to whom powers that stabilize the state had been assigned, are component parts of a single package thanks to which a socially acceptable reform to the political system has become possible and political security has been safeguarded. Despite the highly unfavorable socioeconomic situation and the negative election results, this strategy enabled us to attain most of the goals we had set ourselves. It should particularly be stressed that this strategy enabled us to preserve social calm. Thanks to it, the wave of strikes of previous months did not turn into a violent political conflict. On the contrary, the lack of political support from the opposition for the strikes made it easier to dissolve them. It must be said openly that a delay or blocking of the changes decided at the 10th Plenum might have brought our country to the edge of the abyss.

It should be stressed that our strategy permitted a safeguarding of the evolutionary nature of the changes; the Sejm's political structure and the choice of General W. Jaruzelski for president created the basis for internal and external state security and a continuation of the reform policy. A respect for the "roundtable" accords should encourage a stabilization of the sociopolitical situation in our country.

Our strategy, an expression of which are the "roundtable" accords and the subsequent June elections, has raised Poland's international prestige and created a climate of approval of Poland. This has created the chance of a favorable impact on our foreign economic relations.

However, while talking about the positive results of the strategy we chose, we cannot ignore the fact that a certain weakening of bonds within the coalition is a dangerous result of the elections. The presidential vote in the National Assembly is the clearest and most dangerous manifestation of this weakening. Fully aware of the cracks that have appeared in the edifice of cooperation within the coalition, we have to submit the causes of these cracks to deeper analysis and consider remedial measures.

The election results also bear a serious negative consequence for our party. Understandably, they caused moods in the party ranks to decline, weakened the party's condition and unity, and reduced people's trust in the leadership. The leadership drastically revealed its main weaknesses, including the fact that it has grown accustomed to ruling by administrative means, as a result of which the party's ability to communicate with society and win the support of citizens has weakened. Also apparent now is a lack of proper collaboration between the party and the social organizations with which it enjoyed close ties before.

The condition of the party depends largely on the degree to which its members identify themselves with its policies and its leadership. The election period showed better than any other period that the degree of this identification has fallen considerably. There are various reasons for this. The failure of socioeconomic policy is no doubt the main one. This failure became plain some time ago, but has been exacerbated recently by doubts in the correctness of party programs and in the effectiveness of the party leadership. The burden of evil and atrocious Stalinist practices must have played a significant contribution to the fall in party morale; the atrocities revealed during this period have heightened an awareness of this problem.

An essential factor which weakened the link between the leadership of the party and its membership were the rapidly succeeding changes in policies; policies which were often incomprehensible to the rank-and-file. These changes were related to the necessity of operationally adjusting the policies to the reality of the changing situation. It should be stressed that political turns invariably cause crisis situations in any organization. The bolder and faster the innovations, the deeper the crises caused. In such a situation, many members begin to feel lost. They often do not see the reason and the argument for these changes. Doubts and fears come to the surface. One often hears complaints that the political decisions come as a surprise to ordinary members and even party aktivs.

This situation requires a critical revaluation the form of work and the way to organize our party. It is apparent that the more creative, bolder aspects of the 10th Plenum have not penetrated the political-psychological network of the party to a sufficient degree. They did not become our strong suit at the elections. We need concerted efforts to recast the style of party work a transformation to which the whole party must contribute, and not only its leadership. During this process, we must draw on all the lessons from this election campaign and all the intellectual and political potential that a party which is 2 million strong undoubtedly has. The opportunity for this will be the run-up to the party congress and we must begin this process as soon as possible.

Talking of this potential, we must pay particular attention to the parliamentary representation which is in the PZPR Deputies Club. Without doubt it will play an important part in the shaping of the policy of our party.

We must not forget the thousands of our helpers who with great energy and sacrifice helped in the election and organized the campaigns of our candidates. They took part in the election commissions and undertook many other tasks. The party leadership acknowledges and thanks them for their efforts and commitment. These people are of great value to the party and their value must not be wasted. This is not only human capital but one of experience. During the elections new forms of political activity began to appear, and it is important that these forms should not be lost to the party arsenal.

To conclude, let us consider the main points which have emerged from this analysis. These must touch on the four main areas which have already been presented and which had a negative bearing on the election campaign and its result. The first concerns the verdict passed on our policies by society, above all socioeconomic policies. There is no other way of reversing this verdict other than by a determined and energetic restructuring of all the spheres of our life. We consider that the chances to carry this task out have improved, thanks to the reform of the political system and thanks to our activity in creating more favorable international opportunities. The second relates to the current socioeconomic situation which is increasingly worsening. This requires fast and effective measures.

The third area is the state of the party. The discussion which has been raging in the party over the last few weeks shows the need for a fundamental restructuring.

The concepts of this restructuring should emerge in the course of the wide party discussions which will precede the 11th party congress which is being brought forward.

The fourth area lies in the sphere of political planning and the implementation of its results. There are many serious weaknesses here in the central organization as well as lower down the pyramid. Much points to the fact concluded that our structures are inappropriate for political battle. Our responses are slow and outdated. It is a question of joint deliberation, what we can do in this field in order to overcome these weaknesses.

In conclusion it can be stated that the elections, although they brought a set-back, will have many consequences. If we all use our election experience in the right way this will have a reinvigorating effect on the party.

PZPR Secretaries Discuss Tasks After Plenum

LD0308201889 Warsaw PAP in English
1850 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 3—A working conference of first secretaries of PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] voivodship committees and heads of departments and secretariats of PUWP Central Committee commissions opened today, under the chairmanship of Political Bureau Member and Central Committee Secretary Lezsek Miller.

The conference discusses tasks, initiatives and motions resulting for the PUWP from the resolution of the 13th Central Committee plenum, socio-economic development and lines of preparations for the next Central Committtee plenum, to open a pre-congress campaign preceding the 11th congress of the PUWP.

Senate Discusses Local Self-Government Issue

LD2907185389 Warsaw PAP in English
1643 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 29—The Polish Senate today discussed questions of the local self-government. The Senate speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski recalled that the house started its proper debate with problems of systemic nature which are questions connected with the legal system of local self-government.

The next two days of the present Senate session, Monday and Tuesday, will be devoted to economy, namely agriculture and food, and also health service.

After a five-hour debate the Senate unanimously adopted a resolution in which it expressed the conviction that an authentic self-government of towns and villages must exist. The Senate Committee for Local Self-Government was obligated to produce a plan of legislative work and its implementation in a possibly short time, which would permit to hold much earlier the elections to urban and rural self-governments.

The guidelines for the legal system of local self-government, developed by the respective Senate committee, was presented by the committee chairman who said that the local self-government should be a union affiliating, by virtue of the law, the residents of a given area who enjoy full civil and economic rights and liberties. Self-governments must be independent units separate from the state administration, he said. The self-governments must have their executive organs, that is, local administration independent of the state administration, its own property and local budget also separate from the state budget.

Senator Regulski stressed that the voivod (governor) should at this stage be a state official acting on behalf of the state and for the state, and a representative of the government, while the voivodship offices should be the local arms of central authorities. However, the activities of the governor must be subject to social supervision.

The legislative changes must be done quickly to provide new regulations for holding early elections to self-governments.

In the discussion Senator Jerzy Pietrzak stressed that the new administrative division of 1975 destroyed the ages-old and well-tested tradition of development of poviats (counties). If we are going to reconstruct the self-government, we must prospectively think of the restoration of the self-government at this level too. Corrections are also required in Poland's division into provinces (voivodships). The new laws should reflect the notion that the government administration and the self-government must be complementary. The self-government should not be an element of political struggle.

The sharp crisis in the socio-economic life of this country has been exhanced, among other things, by the political system that had destroyed the functioning of self-governments in rural communities and provinces leaving its space to the nomenklatura, said Senator Jan Kozlowski, who also found it a very urgent need to make local councils apolitical and give them back their authoritative role, and to reconstruct the local self-government. This would involve reduction of the administrative bureaucracy in the countryside.

Deputy Speaker of the Senate Zofia Kuratowska drew attention to the close connection between the problems of self-government and of health protection. Another deputy speaker Andrzej Wielowieyski added that nobody today denies the need to have local self-government but resistance continues. The existing structures are defending themselves against early elections to the local self-governments. Poland has leaped forward in many fields in the past 45 years but not in shaping citizens' society where regression has occurred.

The idea of self-government has reborn together with the Solidarity, said Senator Janusz Ziolkowski, while Stanislaw Obertaniec warned against the strong resistance of the authorities facing the self-government reform.

Andrzej Rozmarynowicz was the last senator to speak in the discussion. A real earthquake is imminent, he said, in legislation, the constitution to start with. Many laws regulating individual fields of economic and social life will have to be changed. The electorate must be asked to study the documents of the committee for local self-government and send their own concrete proposals to the Senate.

Head of the office of the Council of Ministers Michal Janiszewski who attended the Senate meeting referred to the opinions heard in the debate. He said that as a representative of the government he fully agrees with many of them. As tangency points of senators' and government's conclusions he mentioned the determination to continue reforms, the conviction that it is necessary to consolidate the superior role of representative organs, and the need to give subjectivity to the people. The process of reinforcing the position of local councils is well advanced, he said.

Senate Resolution Adopted on Health Protection

AU0708114589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Aug 89 p 4

["Senate Resolution on Health Protection Adopted at the 1 August Session"]

[Text] The Senate is aware of the catastrophic situation with society's health and the deep crisis in the system of health protection. The political authorities bear full responsibility for this state of affairs. For decades they have neglected the affairs of man, in other words the nation's health as well. They have drastically reduced funds and pursued a policy of discrimination vis-a-vis health service employees.

The Senate believes that the existing situation must be changed without delay.

For this purpose, the following immediate steps are required:

1. A major increase in budget spending on the health service;
2. Wage increases for health service employees to a level that corresponds to at least the average wages in the material production sphere. What is at stake here is something that is of higher value than the standard of living of this professional group. The point is to restore the status of the medical profession and grant its members a sense of dignity;
3. A fundamental change to the health service in Poland in such a way that it serves people who are sick or incapacitated with a complete respect for their needs, wishes, and dignity. This must occur in every sphere of the health service, with special reference to the industrial and rural health services.

The Senate places the Social Policy and Health Commission under an obligation to work out a suitable program on the basis of the Commission's theses, the material prepared by the "roundtable" health service reform team, and today's debate, and to submit the program to the Senate by the end of October 1989. Essential legislative work should commence immediately after it has been worked out.

The Senate attaches great importance to health, because it is a basis for rights that guarantee human life and dignity, and man's participation in the life of society.

Senate Resolution on Agriculture Published

AU0708202889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Aug 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Senate Resolution of 1 August 1989 on Agriculture and the Food Economy"]

[Text] The Senate resolution on agriculture and the food economy that was adopted on 1 August has been published. This is the text: The drastic decision on prices that has come into force and was made by the outgoing government was reached without the agreement of the trade unions and the forces represented in parliament.

The operation was given the misleading name of the introduction of market mechanisms. In reality, it amounts to the setting in motion of price increases without the introduction of other market mechanisms and competition. In particular, it does not dismantle the state monopoly on the procurement of agricultural produce and the monopoly on supplying the countryside with production inputs. No steps have been taken to ensure that there are stocks of meat, feeds, and the inputs needed for food production that are essential for bringing the chaos in the marketplace under control.

The government decision is only a form of escaping the unrealistic responsibilities stemming from the "rationing" of the supply of meat, and an attempt to improve the present absurd price ratios. It cannot be deemed the beginning of consistent, radical, institutional changes aimed at restoring the laws of the marketplace in all areas of economic life. The changes that have been introduced may lead to public protests as a result of, among other things, frustration with galloping inflation and no improvement in supply. All of this will accelerate the disintegration of the economy and threatens to push millions of Poles below the poverty line. In view of this, the Senate believes that the government decision on prices is harmful to the political stability of the state.

The Senate believes that the following are necessary:

1. The formulation by the government and submission for approval by parliament of a rescue plan for the economy lasting several months and, in addition, a 2-year plan for the reconstruction of the economy.
2. The suspension of all investment projects that have been started with the exception of those that will have a direct impact on increasing consumption, the protection of the environment, the health of the population, as well as the social and economic infrastructure.

3. The transfer of the resources thus released to agriculture and the food industry, as well as to the production of factors of production for agriculture, especially farm machinery and spare parts.
4. Establishing which production and service units in the military sector could immediately start up production for the needs of agriculture and the food economy.

The Senate maintains that a basic condition for the introduction of market mechanisms in agriculture is the demonopolization of its environment and, in particular, a change in the ownership structure of enterprises that serve agriculture and the food economy. This calls for:
1. The breaking up of state enterprises that have a monopolistic position and comprise several plants.
2. The selling off, under parliamentary supervision, of state and cooperative production assets that are not being used efficiently. This particularly applies to plants that process produce, wholesalers and retailers, and to units providing services.
3. The creation of genuinely equal conditions for the provision of loans for food production under all forms of ownership and the abandonment of all preferential conditions linked to forms of ownership.
4. The elimination of central and voivodship cooperative trade structures and their replacement by companies.
5. The abandonment of bureaucratic and fiscal obstacles to free trade in farm produce and foodstuffs; the elimination of compulsory brokerage in foreign trade; the creation of conditions for competitive imports for domestic agricultural production; permitting farmers to engage in foreign barter trade; and the expansion of non-monpolistic imports of production inputs for agriculture.
6. The suspension of the construction of large food processing plants that do not guarantee economic efficiency.

The Senate maintains that the profitability of agricultural production should be ensured by guaranteed minimum prices. These prices could later be restricted to grains. The guaranteed prices that are established must be based on fixed ratios between prices of basic production inputs and the agricultural produce prices that are covered by guarantees. Prices for agricultural produce offered by monopoly trade organizations and processing units must be negotiated with farmers representatives. Both these steps are of a temporary kind and are connected with the continued existence of a monopoly in the production of production inputs for agriculture and in the procurement of farm produce. The privatization, decentralization, and demonopolization of the farming environment is also essential at the same time.

The Senate believes that it essential to protect the right of ownership and its inviolability. The Senate supports the liberalization of the sale of land. In particular, the limit on the size of farm holdings has to be abolished.

Policy regarding the rural areas should also take account of multifunctional character of the countryside and not just its agricultural production functions. Ways of improving the state of the rural areas with respect to social, cultural, and ethical spheres also have to be sought. In order to stop young people from leaving these rural areas, it is essential to create conditions for the pursuit of various occupations. Local conditions have to be taken into account in supporting agriculture.

Social benefits paid to the farming population have to be brought into line with those paid to those employed outside agriculture. In particular, changes have to be made to the pension system for farmers.

Being in a catastrophic economic situation, Poland faces an urgent need to choose a path leading to the recovery and development of the national economy. The Senate believes that far-reaching changes in the ownership structure and the creation of conditions for the development of agriculture and those sectors of the national economy connected with it are a prerequisite for Poland's economic reconstruction.

Council of Ministers Discuss Food Market

AU0808085189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jul 89 pp 1,2

[PAP report: "Free Market For The Food Economy—Decisions By The Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers at its session on 29 July discussed matters related to the development of agricultural production, its profitability, and the improvement of the food supply to the market. The discussion between experts and in society as a whole, which has been going on for some time now, has shown that free market mechanisms must be rapidly introduced in order to solve the problems which have appeared in the food economy.

The Council of Ministers made the following decisions:

1. It repealed Resolution Number 188 which regulates trade transactions in certain raw agricultural produce and food products. This abolishes all administrative limitations relating to procurement and trade in agricultural produce. From now on, any enterprise which processes and trades in such produce will be able to purchase it. This will promote competition, increase the efficiency of agricultural producers, and reduce time lost at agricultural purchasing centers. This will reduce the wastage of food and ensure better development of agricultural produce. The minimum guaranteed procurement prices payable by relevant state enterprises for livestock, milk, barley, and wheat, are unaffected.

2. It repealed Resolution Number 221 which regulates the sale of goods. Starting 1 September meat and meat products will no longer be rationed. This will remove many restrictions, for the purchase as well as for the trade, and will reduce the administrative costs involved

in meat transactions. The numbers of sale outlets will increase, shopping will become easier, and there should be a greater variety of meat products.

3. All administrative methods of price fixing will cease on 1 September. Nationwide official prices will only apply to milk with 2 percent fat content, low-fat cottage cheeses, milk-based baby foods, and ordinary bread. The prices for these products will be fixed by the Minister of Finance. Enterprises will independently set the retail prices for their food products based on, above all, the market situation, and adjust their prices to meet the level of demand. It means that prices for the same product within a given area, for example, in a city, will be different and constantly changing. After the introduction of the free-market, there will be similar price differentials for meat to the ones presently prevailing for meat sold locally in regional markets throughout the country. Bearing in mind the scale of transactions, these differences, however, should be much smaller than those which are noticeable in local markets.

In a free-market food economy, trading margins should only be a few percent higher than at present, and be similar to one another throughout the whole country. Later, price margin differentials will begin to appear between competing enterprises. The implementation of a free-market mechanism in relation to the food economy is hampered by budget subsidies to the agricultural-food processing industry. This is a consequence of a policy of holding back the increase of food prices in the past, in spite of the increasing costs of its production. A sweeping introduction of free-market mechanisms should mean the disappearance of subsidies. This would, however, mean an enormous increase of food prices, and that is the reason why the alternative policy of a gradual reduction of subsidies to the food processing industry, has been adopted. This process has been initiated by "freezing" the subsidy quotas at their current levels. In the course of time and with the freeing of prices, these subsidies will be reduced.

4. Wages, invalid and old-age pensions, family benefits, as well as other social security payments, are to be supplemented with the aim of compensating the increased income expenditure for basic food products. The level of this supplement will be related to and dependent on the rationing entitlement of the particular individual, as at 1 September.

This supplement will not equalize the increased costs of living in full, for it is only intended as an initial payment and is related to the price movement of only some food products. The true calculation of the increased cost of living, will be done by indexing wages, correlating wages in the state sector to those in the production sectors, adjusting of old-age and invalid pensions, and increasing other social security payments. (Detailed provisions relating to these protective actions are contained in a separate communique of the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy.)

Due to the fact that the introduction of free-market prices for food is taking place in the holiday season, there is a pressing need to supplement the costs of holidays for workers and their families. The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution which allows enterprises to increase social fund contributions by Z7,500 for each individual on vacation at a rest home, summer camp, or on a camping holiday, organized after 1 September. State financed child and youth rest centers, various other child care-education institutions, as well as state approved summer camps organized by social and youth organizations, will receive the necessary additional financial means to meet their increased costs of living.

The Council of Ministers instructs the relevant enterprises to transfer the necessary additional funds to the organizers of the holidays as soon as possible.

5. The Council of Ministers bound the individual ministers to take steps which will support the introduction of free-market mechanisms into the food economy:

—The minister of finances will exempt from income tax for 3 years all newly created economic units which intend to operate in the agricultural produce and food processing sector. Already existing units will be eligible for income tax relief which will be 2 percent of the value of their turnover. Investments in the food-agricultural sector will continue to qualify for concessionary tax treatment. Legal persons investing in the development of food production can finance up to 50 percent of their initial investment outlay from their pre-tax revenues. All other persons can also deduct up to 50 percent of their investment outlay from their pre-tax revenues.

Services supplied to the agricultural sector by units of agricultural economy are exempted from tax. Village trading organizations also benefit from tax concessions.

—The president of the Polish National Bank, in line with the Council of Ministers decisions, will increase the pool of credit available to banks financing projects linked to the development of agriculture and food economy.

All units of agricultural production, from all sectors, will be guaranteed equal access to sources of finance. These credits will be subject to preferential rates of interest.

—Steps will be taken to abolish the present monopoly structure on the procurement and the processing of agricultural products. The Minister of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Industries will take the necessary steps to separate meat processing enterprises from one another, in order to ensure the independence of individual factories. All unnecessary management structures will be removed and administrative interference in the existing structures will be limited.

This will give rise to conditions favoring independent action by individual enterprises in the spheres of purchasing, processing, and pricing, related to the purchase of agricultural produce and its subsequent resale. This will increase competition, give better management of agricultural produce, lead to an increased food production, and thus re-establish market balance.

—The Minister for Industry will rapidly take steps to ensure an increased supply of products to the agricultural sector, especially agricultural machinery, machinery and equipment for the smaller food processing factories, specialist transport facilities, spare parts, fertilizers, and agricultural pesticides and chemicals. The production and supply of technical equipment for this sector will be coordinated by a system of government procurement.

The program for restructuring industry, based on the fund for industrial restructuring, and the issue of state bonds, will lead to an increase in the production potential of industrial enterprises that supply the agricultural sector.

—The Minister for Town and Country Planning and Construction will introduce concessions for the construction of buildings in the agricultural and food processing sectors. The required procedure for consultations on the location of such buildings will be relaxed. The time scale of such consultations will be shortened. Thus, the time taken to approve such projects will be reduced from 12 to 3 months. Rules concerning planning permission for the construction of agricultural buildings will also be relaxed. The potential of industrial and specialist construction enterprises, which has arisen from the fact that many of their capital investment projects have now been frozen, will be directed, in the first instance, to the agricultural and food production sector.

—The Minister of Health and Social Affairs will speed up work to apply food nutrition norms to the norms currently recommended by the UN Food and Agriculture Organization and WHO. He will also undertake steps to shorten the time required to obtain ministerial rulings that allow new food products onto the general market.

He will simply environmental health testing procedures necessary for the commissioning of new food processing factories, and will tighten up the sphere of subsequent environmental health checks.

He will also simplify procedures that approve dietary food products and simplify applications for permission to produce and sell such products.

The State Environmental Health Inspectorate can be consulted on a wide range of related issues, and is ready to give advice and training to all persons who are interested in producing and selling food products.

—The voivodas will assist in all activities aimed at eliminating monopolist practices, giving other economic units access to the existing network of procurement points, and organizing communal procurement points accessible to everyone concerned. There will be more shops run by firms, more crafts studios, and more market stalls. Reduced market stall fees will be introduced for those retailers who sell food.

The voivodas were instructed to apply to the people's councils for an increase in funds destined for social aid.

—The state administration will examine the state of market supplies in various regions, especially large conurbations, and will provide emergency supplies, if necessary.

Sit-in Strike At Starachowice Truck Plant Ends

LD0408110489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Text] The sit-in strike by the workforce at the truck plant in Starachowice ended last night. In an agreement signed with the strike committee, the management undertook to increase the workforce's pay from 1 August, to make further efforts in this area, and to examine and define the implementation of the remaining demands put forward in July and during the present protest campaign.

Poznan Postal Transport, Exchange Workers Strike

LD0708111289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Correspondent's Report from Poznan]

[Text] A sit-in strike commenced 2 hours ago at the Poznan-Two Postal Transport and Exchange Depot. The demands relate above all to an increase in basic wages, that currently come to Z47,800 [per month] and also the internal problems in the functioning of the depot. Talks with the management of the Voivodship Post and Telecommunications Administrative Office began Friday [4 August] when postal and money order delivery workers did not commence work. The work force did not, however, accept the proposed increase of Z50,000. As a representatives of the strike committee informed us, only certain indispensible services will be at work at the depot during the strike. For instance, pensions and annuities will be paid out at issue counters, express parcels will be issued, and emergency telegrams will be accepted. The sit-in strike at the Postal Transport and Exchange Depot is paralyzing work at most offices in the Poznan Voivodship.

Agreement Reached With Railway Trade Unions

LD0808003389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] At the meeting which started in Warsaw this afternoon between Jozef Oleksy, the trade unions minister [title as heard], representatives of several ministries and Solidarity and the National Trade Union Alliance [OPZZ], agreement has been reached between the Polish State railways trade unions and the government side on the matter of a pay raise.

It was agreed that for the next 2 months, apart from a supplement to cover the increase in food prices and indexation, pay will increase by 60,000 zloties per employee. By 1 October, further talks will be started on pay for railway workers. [passage indistinct]

PAP Reports Various Strike Situations

LD0708232889 Warsaw PAP in English
2204 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Biala Podlaska, Aug 7—August 7 was a normal working day for municipal transportation in Biala Podlaska, eastern Poland. The agreement signed between the strike committee and the management of the municipal transportation authority ended a sit-in strike which had been held in the enterprise since August 1.

The negotiated wage raises will most probably hike fares in municipal transportation. Fares totalling 30 zloties will go up twice or even more.

x x x

Torun, Poznan: Employees of the voivodship post office, telephone and telegraph enterprise in Torun suspended a sit-in strike after three days of negotiations. Active protest action was suspended till August 14.

On the other hand, employees of Post Office No. 2 in Poznan began a strike for higher wages in the morning on Monday.

x x x

Warsaw: Negotiations were held here on wages for employees of the PKS Inter-city Bus Transportation Authority. The talks will be continued on Tuesday. The situation in PKS and in transportation in general is tense in some regions. Talks were also held with trade unionists from the PKP Railway Authority, and the postal and tele-communication authorities.

Solidarity 'Militant' Seeks Political Asylum

PY0308230489 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 2 Aug 89 p A 12

[By Carter Anderson; all figures as received]

[Excerpt] Polish electrician Kazimierz Zyskowoski, 38 years of age, who is a militant of Solidarity, has asked Brazil for political asylum. He arrived in Rio de Janeiro from Poland on 28 July on board the ship "Wladyslawowo." He said that he dreams of living here with a salary of up to $800,000 (about 2.8 million new cruzados), free from the political persecution he has suffered for being a militant of solidarity.

Zyskowoski said that in Poland he was earning $18 a month (39 new cruzados). He is skeptical about the reforms being implemented in Poland. He added that he decided to leave his country a month ago, when he learned that the government would investigate his participation in political activities linked to the union.

On 7 July 1989 he boarded a cargo ship belonging to the Polish Government's Polsi Line Oceanicrine company as an electrician. He left his wife and a 15-year-old daughter in Ddynia, 20 km from Gdansk. He hopes to bring them to Brazil if he gets settled here. [passage omitted]

Daily Interviews Rural Solidarity Leader

AU2107124589 Warsaw PAP in English
1108 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 21—In an interview for the United Peasant Party DZIENNIK LUDOWY daily, chairman of the Solidarnosc of private farmers and senate deputy speaker Jozef Slisz said, excerpts:

"It is certainly true that the present trade union is a continuator of the Solidarnosc of private farmers from 1981, but qualitatively this is already a different trade union.

"The present Solidarnosc of private farmers is a much more mature and even-tempered trade union. Its political aspirations are expressed in the participation of its representatives in the roundtable debates and elections to the Sejm and the Senate.

"I think it would be a great mistake if someone tried to set up a political party (basing on) on the organism of the trade union. The Solidarnosc of private farmers wants to occupy only a position of a trade union in the peasant movement. But life is life. When our members are elected to the Sejm and the Senate, they cannot close themselves in a trade union group. That is why our MPs will have to cooperate with their colleagues from other political parties but they will set up a common front only when improvement in the condition of the countryside and agriculture is at stake. Today I can say one thing: that the Solidarnosc of private farmers will lean towards remaining a trade union and as a trade union we will try to limit the area of our political influence as much as possible.

"We set up an organ of our trade union, the weekly of the Solidarnosc of private farmers. Its first 24-page coloured issue will appear already during the harvest festival in Czestochowa and Slawomir Siwek is its editor-in-chief. I think that 300,000 copies of impression, with which we enter the market, are only a start of our publishing work," Jozef Slisz said.

Christian Social Union's Leyk Interviewed

PM0308083689 Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 24 Jul 89 p 3

[Interview with Wiktor Marek Leyk, deputy chairman of Christian Social Union (UChS), chairman of UChS Olsztyn Voivodship Board, by Adam Bartnikowski on 19 July; place not given]

[Text] [Bartnikowski] Could you tell us your first reflections on the subject of yesterday's 8-hour session of the National Assembly?

[Leyk] My first reflection is this: Yesterday's television program showed us very faithfully the real situation in the country as regards the chaotic disunity of views and opinions. Moreover, the whole sequence of establishing the presidential election procedure demonstrated how hard it is to achieve any kind of consensus in Poland. I consider it essential for the Sejm and the Senate to introduce a binding code of rules and regulations. Such a code would, after all, be designed to facilitate their work.

[Bartnikowski] How do you assess the election itself?

[Leyk] This question has been under discussion for many months. We in the Christian Social Union [UChS] adopted an unequivocal position: We supported the coalition's candidate.

[Bartnikowski] Other political groups within our Polish parliament said the same thing, and yet the results of the voting have shown that someone was conducting a strategy...

[Leyk] Politics is in itself a strategy. Do you know, I was convinced right from the start that the groups connected with Solidarity would not support the general. I even did my own calculations and I concluded that Jaruzelski would pull through with a margin of some 5-6 votes. He pulled through with a margin of one. I believe that virtually the whole opposition camp voted against him, as did certain members of the ruling coalition who violated their side's discipline by refusing to vote in favor.

[Bartnikowski] Some preferred not to vote at all. What do you think of them?

[Leyk] They acted according to their conscience. Please note that although they justified their move with criticism of the method and procedure of electing a head of state, it did not deprive the general of even a single vote. On the contrary: They indirectly contributed to his election. But this is simply mathematical calculation.

[Bartnikowski] I conclude from your remarks that you are among the general's supporters and that, had you been elected to the Sejm (in fact, you fell short of that by just 1.5 percent of the electors' votes), you would have voted in favor.

[Leyk] It would not be fair to state unequivocally that I gave General Jaruzelski's candidacy my unreserved support. I fully endorse the statement made by Tadeusz Nowacki, head of our parliamentary floor group: No one who was involved in Polish politics in recent years has a clear record. This applies also to the new president. The public associates him with the introduction of martial law which, after all, did create an abnormal social situation and deprived people of their civil liberties. I would also add the following reflection: Once martial law was introduced, the authorities should have taken advantage of the situation and implemented radical economic reforms. It appears that at that time the general failed to recognize the powerful negative influence of the whole apparatus, and especially the party apparatus, on these processes.

[Bartnikowski] So why was general Jaruzelski's the sole candidacy?

[Leyk] The most obvious reason was surely that there were no other obvious candidates to speak of. "No obvious candidates" does not mean that there were none at all. The previous structure, which assumed a monopoly of one party, did not allow for the emergence of any cadres of political or economic activists from outside the nomenklatura. After all, only someone who enjoys sufficient public authority could become a president, and—despite everything else—the general still does possess this kind of authority. It had to be someone who is well known in the international forum, and for this I would give Jaruzelski even more points than for his profile in Poland. It is unquestionably true that the general enjoys better publicity abroad that at home. Take, for example, Maxwell's book on Jaruzelski. It really does show our new president in a favorable light.

[Bartnikowski] Imposing martial law and delaying the introduction of the reforms: These are serious charges. What then, in your opinion, could be said in the general's favor?

[Leyk] This will perhaps sound paradoxical: in part, the same things that were held against him. He imposed martial law in Poland, true. But, on the other hand, it took tremendous skill to effect such a "soft landing" from the state of martial law as he did. I bet that in those early days of martial law most of us imagined that a much more dramatic and tragic scenario would be played out in the days and months to follow. This is one aspect of the question. The other aspect involves international relations. Jaruzelski is widely known in the world and enjoys the respect of the leaders of the two world powers. These are no mean assets.

[Bartnikowski] What are the most urgent tasks that the president has to face?

[Leyk] In the first place, he will have to instigate the process of changing the constitution. Second, he must do the goroundwork for the introduction of unrestricted democratic mechanisms. All this, of course, must be done in full cooperation with the Sejm and the Senate. In addition, I believe that it is everybody's wish that the president rise above particular party or group interests and act as a representative of and spokesman for all Poles. Consequently, we expect him to relinquish the function of first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee.

Election Irregularities Court Hearing Reported

AU2807143589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Jul 89 p 4

[PAP report: "Another Batch of Election Complaints Heard by the Supreme Court"]

[Text] The Supreme Court heard another batch of nine complaints of irregularities related to the Sejm and Senate elections at its 24 July session. The court gave its ruling in five of these cases and four were adjourned. The Supreme Court has received a total of 39 complaints.

The court heard a complaint by Wlodzimierz Poleski, the deputy chairman of the local electoral commission in the General Staff Academy in Rembertow. The academy was one of the so-called closed electoral regions. The complainant described cases of pressure being put on some of the soldier voters to increase voting numbers. He cited the fact that throughout 18 June, lists of soldiers who had not yet voted were being compiled. The names on the lists were communicated to the relevant officers, who would then order the soldiers in question to go to the voting stations. The complainant also described cases of soldiers who requested they receive some proof of voting as their commanding officers had made the granting of future leave conditional on this.

The Supreme Court, after having heard the chairman of the Warsaw Praga-South regional electoral commission, accepted that the regulations of the electoral law had been infringed and held that the use of higher rank to force participation in the voting was impermissible. The court will send its opinion to the Sejm. At the same time, however, the court held that in this particular case these breaches could not have influenced the final result of the voting.

The allegations in the complaint brought by Marian Strzelecki and other members of the local election commission of Ujazd Gorny concerned the refusal to include their remarks in the local voting report. These concerned real discrepancies. For example, several members of the commission were only driven to the polling station at 0800 on 18 June. By that time, over 100 voters had purportedly already cast their vote. This was considerably more than had done so by the same time during the first round. During the day other irregularities became apparent. People who had been "crossed off" as already having voted, began to arrive at the polling station. Finally, it transpired that the number of voting cards cast was seven short, compared to the number of people registered as having voted. The Supreme Court decided to adjourn the matter until it had heard the evidence of the chairman of the local election commission.

Does a person who is proposing a candidate, and thus has to give his own personal details, have to sign the proposal form? This problem was the subject of the complaint brought by Ewa Sas against the refusal to accept Robert Sas as a Senate candidate. According to the opinions of the election commissions (regional and national), and the representative of the Prosecutor General, a signature in such instance was a requirement. The Supreme Court adjourned its opinion in the matter until 2 August, owing to the absence of the complainant.

The Supreme Court rejected several election complaints which did not fall under the sphere of the electoral law. Among these, was Elzbieta Sekowska's complaint. She accused the National Election Commission of omitting to publish the total number of people entitled to vote, the total number of votes cast, and the total number of invalid votes.

The Supreme Court did not consider that the election law had been breached when Jozef Starczynowski was elected Sejm deputy for Jaworzym, mandate number 437. The matter concerned an additional mandate which was given to the Polish Catholic-Social Union in place of the national list. Tadeusz Krawczyk, the complainant, questioned the legality of this, explaining that J. Starczynowski was the sole candidate on the election list. His rival Wieslaw Gwizdz, the chairman of the Polish Catholic-Social Union, was removed from the list by the National Election Commission because, according to the electoral law, one could only stand for the Sejm on the national list or by being a registered candidate in an election region.

Among other matters which were adjourned was the complaint brought by Miroslaw Lewandowski and others against the refusal of the regional election commission number 50 in Krakow, to put the letters 'KPN' [confederation for an independent Poland] after the name of Leszek Moczulski who was standing as Sejm deputy.

Maritime Rescue Submits Protest to Government

LD0708192889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Excerpt] A few hours ago our editorial team received a telex which reads, inter alia: On 1 August 1989 the delegation of the PRO [Polish Maritime Rescue] submitted an information and protest message to the president of Polish peoples republic, Sejm speaker, Senate speaker, Central Committee secretary [as heard], premier and chairman of OPZZ (National Trade Union Accord) and the chairman of Solidarity, and held talks with representatives of the Ministry of Transport, Shipping and Communications. Since there has been no reaction so far from the authorities to the submitted protest, as of 7 August of this year a protest action is announced by the PRO workforce until further notice. [partly indistinct passage omitted]

Army Political Council Holds Plenary Meeting

AU0708082389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Aug 89 p 5

[Text] The Higher Political Council of the Armed Forces held a plenary session on 3 August. The plenary session discussed the draft Program-Directives and Theses for the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], the tasks resting on the Army party bodies and organizations as mentioned in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech to the plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 27-28 June this year, as well as measures to fulfill them. The plenary session also discussed the activity carried out to better fulfill the plan for combat and political training, and to implement the provisions of directives of the supreme commander regarding the Army's military and political training. A special program of measures was adopted aimed at studying, becoming acquainted with, and implementing the theses, ideas, and guidelines of the programmatic documents for the 14th RCP Congress and of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech to the recent RCP Central Committee plenum.

In an atmosphere of fervent patriotic and revolutionary commitment, the participants in the plenary session sent a cable to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and supreme commander of the Armed Forces.

Council Message to Ceausescu

AU0708193089 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Aug 89 p 5

["Telegram Sent to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, by the Participants in the Plenary Meeting of the Aktiv of the Higher Political Council of the Armed Forces," in Bucharest on 3 August]

[Text] Much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and supreme commander of the Armed Forces: The participants in the plenary session of the aktiv of the Higher Political Council of the Armed Forces express, on behalf of all Communists and members of the Union of Communist Youth [UCY], and on behalf of all military staff, feelings of great esteem and profound gratitude for your heroic and gigantic revolutionary activity placed in the service of the basic interests of the Romanian people, of our homeland's many-sided prosperity, and of strengthening socialist Romania's defense capacity.

During the plenary meeting, the participants firmly voiced their satisfaction, joy, and complete adherence to the resolution of the RCP Central Committee plenum of June 1989 proposing that at the 14th RCP Congress you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, be reelected to the supreme position of party secretary general. This option constitutes a political act of historic scope and profound patriotic and revolutionary significance.

On this occasion too, our country's soldiers enthusiastically reaffirm their full agreement with the ideas, guidelines, and tasks stipulated in the draft Program-Directives and Theses for the 14th RCP Congress and in the extensive speech made by you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the founder of modern socialist Romania and consistent revolutionary fighter for the triumph of the cause of socialism and communism, of progress and peace throughout the world.

We also pay warm and fervent homage to Comrade Elena Ceausescu, front-ranking militant of our party, eminent politician and statesman, and scientist of wide international recognition for here noteworthy contribution to formulating and implementing our party's and state's domestic and foreign policy, to implementing our homeland's socioeconomic development programs, and to the unprecedented prosperity of Romanian education, science, and culture.

The discussions of the plenary meeting have clearly revealed the truth that everything that has excellently been achieved on socialist Romania's soil, particularly in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress, bears the unmistakable mark of your heroic and prodigious revolutionary activity, thus undeniably demonstrating the superiority of the socialist system, the creative potential of free people who are masters of their destiny, and the correctness of our party's policy of dynamically developing and harmoniously distributing the forces of production throughout the country, of constantly strengthening state and cooperative socialist ownership, and of perfecting the concerted management of the socioeconomic activity on the basis of deepening revolutionary workers democracy.

The documents under discussion, which were formulated under your direct guidance and with your decisive contribution provide conclusions designed to perfect our military body, strengthen the combat capacity of military detachments and large units, and to vigorously enhance the leading political role of the party bodies and organizations in all military fields.

The Communists, UCY members, and all our military staff express full adherence to our party's and your position on the progress of the current society toward socialism and communism—the system without exploitation of man by man, the most dignified and humane system, the only one to guarantee the peoples' freedom, independence, peace, security, and well-being—a profoundly principled and revolutionary position fully in keeping with the materialist-dialectical and historic concept, and with the theory of scientific socialism.

Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, on this occasion too we report that, by following your bright example of patriotic and revolutionary devotion, proud of the great socialist achievements on Romanian soil, and inspired by the ideas and guidelines of your masterly speech, we will focus our efforts and creative energy on achieving new and important results in fulfilling the plan for our combat and political training and the highly responsible tasks entrusted to us in the national economy, thus welcoming the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation with particular successes in all areas, and we will work so that the Army is ready at any time to defend, together with the whole nation, our socialist achievements, and the sovereignty and integrity of our dear homeland.

The participants in the plenary meeting of the aktiv of the Higher Political Council of the Armed Forces

Belgian Peace Delegation Visits, Holds Talks

AU0708155289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1233 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 7/8/1989—A delegation of the Belgian organization "Rencontres Pour la Paix" led by Jean Verstappen, jurist, former senator, paid a visit to Romania at the invitation of the National Peace Committee over 29 July-5 August.

The guests had talks at social and political institutions and organizations and saw round places of economic and cultural interest in Bucharest and Arges and Brasov Counties.

During the interviews opinions and information were exchanged on better rapprochement, confidence-building and strengthened cooperation among peace movements, on the need to step up efforts for disarmament, security and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

Hungarians Die During Interrogation in Romania

LD0808100289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 08 Aug 89

[Text] In Romania, all trace has been lost of the Hungarian pastor who gave an interview to Canadian television and whose remarks were also heard on Hungarian television. Laszlo Tokes from Temesvar was dragged off to the public prosecutor's office by the police and since then there has been no news of him.

The League for the Protection of Human Rights has also made known that recently two Romanian citizens of Hungarian nationality lost their lives during an interrogation by the authorities. Apparently they died as a result of beatings by the investigators.

U.S. Senate Adopts 'Anti-Yugoslav' Resolution

LD0808091389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0630 GMT 08 Aug 89

[Text] Washington, 8 Aug (TANJUG)—The U.S. Senate has adopted a resolution in which the Yugoslav Government is requested to approve "an unconditional amnesty for all political prisoners" and to "guarantee basic human rights and freedoms" to all citizens.

This resolution, the first anti-Yugoslav document finally approved in the U.S. Congress, was adopted in connection with the case of the well-known chauvinist, Dobroslav Paraga, who following his release from a Yugoslav prison, has for some time now been abroad. In it, Paraga's claims, to the effect that in prison and during the investigation procedure he was "physically and psycologically" tortured and not ensured a "fair trial," are accepted as the truth.

Prior to Congress' adoption of the resolution the SFRY Embassy, it has been learned, turned to the State Department and requested that consideration of this document be prevented. The resolution was nevertheless adopted, with the State Department's explanation that allegedly it did not know about the document and was thus unable to intervene in a timely fashion.

Paraga has recently stayed in Canada and the United States, where he has received not only the support of extremist Croatian emigres but has also been received at the State Department and Congress for talks. Paraga has also on several occasions spoken out against Yugoslavia in United States and Canadian extremist emigre media.

Loncar, Cuban Foreign Minister Conclude Talks

LD0708155289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1332 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Aug (TANJUG)—With the signing of an agreement on scientific-technical cooperation in the sphere of culture and education, and with a far-reaching exchange of opinions on the forthcoming nonaligned summit and bilateral cooperation, talks ended in Belgrade today between Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar and Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca.

Talks began yesterday and the second round of talks, which was held today, was devoted to details of the procedure and organization of the work of the summit and represented something "more than a formal exchange of opinions" because the mechanism for work and decisionmaking at the summit was examined, as well as the substance of the decisions to be made.

After looking at the draft final documents which Yugoslavia, as the host of the summit, is preparing, the Cuban side suggested amendments, particularly with regard to the problems of Latin America and certain aspects of disarmament, and in the sphere of international economic relations. It was agreed that Cuban-Yugoslav contacts should continue at the level of experts of the two governments, and all suggestions and criticisms will help the Yugoslav hosts of the summit to include them, on the basis of criticisms being received from other countries as well, in the documents, after a broader consensus has been reached among the members of the Nonaligned Movement. [sentence as received]

During the exchange of opinions between Loncar and Malmierca, there was also discussion, only in principle of course, about the possible host for the tenth summit. No decision has been made yet on this exceptionally important question because many countries are interested in hosting the summit, and it is possible that a decision will be made at a regular ministerial conference of the nonaligned countries between the two summits in 1991, as was the case in the selection of the host for the previous two summits (Harare and Belgrade).

When considering bilateral cooperation between Yugoslavia and Cuba, Loncar and Malmierca concluded with satisfaction that relations, particularly economic relations, are developing very favorably and are expanding. There will be a more detailed discussion about new forms of their advancement, expansion, and diversification during tomorrow's talks between FEC [Federal Executive Council] Vice President Aleksandar Mitrovic and the Cuban foreign minister, during Malmierca's stay in Sarajevo, and in meetings with top officials of Energoinvest.

On behalf of the FEC, Budimir Loncar is today hosting a formal lunch in honor of his Cuban colleaque Malmierca, where toasts will be exchanged.

Tomorrow the guest from Cuba will depart for Sarajevo where, as the guest of the Republican Executive Council of Bosnia-Hercegovina, he will stay until Wednesday evening. On Thursday morning, Malmierca will travel to Brioni where he will be received by the President of the SFRY Presidency Janez Drnovsek and then on the same day at about noon, the Cuban foreign minister will leave Belgrade on a Yugoslav Airlines flight for a visit to Czechoslovakia.

FEC Presents Half Yearly Economic Results

AU0308195889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jul 89 p 3

[D. Pusonjic report: "Assembly Does Not Hear Well"]

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Jul—Garnished with optimism, the report of the federal government on the realization of the economic policy measures in the first 6 months arrived in the SFRY Assembly today. It contains one of the well known key assessments, namely that "high inflation" remains one of Yugoslavia's biggest problem.

The analysis of economic trends and the effects of the measures undertaken by the government between January and June was presented in some 50 densely typed pages. The report ends with a forecast of economic trends for all of 1989. For instance, the report predicts that, assuming the present conditions, the physical volume of industrial production will rise by 2 percent (in relation to last year), agricultural production by about 5 percent, exports for convertable currency by between 7-8 percent (or to be more precise—$10.3-$10.4 billion), while imports could be smaller than the planned imports (instead of $12 billion they could be "between $11.1-$11.3 billion"). At present it is difficult to estimate economic growth for this year with certainty, the Federal Executive Council concludes, but it is now already obvious that the general economic situation in the first half of this year cannot be regard as satisfactory at all "despite positive trends in some spheres."

Being concerned about inflation as the country's biggest problem, the government established that the time lag between inflationary impacts and their adverse effects is becoming shorter: inflationary intervals now last 2 months rather than 4 months as in the past, and every impact is 4 percent points stronger. As of June, the preceding year's retail price inflation was 652 percent.

Statistical data also shows that in the first 6 months, the physical volume of production rose by 3 percent. The main reason for this is increased productivity. The output of the electricity generating industry has fallen by 2.5 percent, but this has not affected the supply, because the consumption was rationalized. According to the Federal Executive Council [FEC], this was "effected by the establishment of a more realistic price parity of electric power," or put in simpler terms, because of the enormous price of electricity. In agriculture, "negative tendencies recorded last year" have continued. As an illustration, the buying of milk fell by 5.7 percent, while the production of meat fell by 9 percent.

Life is not a bed of roses in the private sector either, although 1,382 private businesses were started in Serbia proper, 1,330 in Macedonia, 397 in Croatia, and 200 in Montenegro. The government is of the opinion that the majority of the initial measures needed to speed up the development of the private sector is in the communes' sphere of competence, and adds that "resistance exists because of the old methods of behaving which should be abolished by the republican and provincial regulations."

In the past period, total exports rose by 6 percent (we are talking about $6.2 billion), while imports rose even more: 10.5 percent in relation to last year. They are worth $6.6 billion. Imports are 94.5 percent covered by exports (in the same period last year it was 98.4 percent).

In the same period, we reduced our total foreign debt by $217 million, while the refinancing of interest increased our debt by $120 million. The short-term loans were reduced by $342 million and on 31 May they stood at $690 million. A sum of $583 million was paid out with respect to effective liabilities for interest ($552 million was paid in convertable currency). In the first 5 months of this year, we paid a total of $750 million as a repayment of medium and long term loans. Out of this sum, $675 million were paid in convertable currency. The refinancing part of our debt stands at $630 million.

In the first 5 months of this year, the number of employed in the social sector fell by 0.1 percent. The number of unemployed is rising. The FEC has not said how many people are unemployed, but did say that out of the total number of unemployed, 93 percent are "really out of work," while 68 percent are seeking employment for the first time. Among the unemployed, 690,000 are professional people (58 percent of the total number of unemployed), out of which 6.1 percent have high or higher professional training.

It is also worth mentioning the part of the FEC's report which states that the government has proposed to the SFRY Assembly some exclusively anti-inflationary measures, above all abolishing the bills of exchange as a method of payment, a ban on paying out salaries in installments, and a change as to when personal incomes should be paid, but that these proposals "were not fully accepted by the SFRY Assembly, and that affects the anti-inflationary concept as a whole."

Trade Union Official Demands Higher Wages

LD0708122889 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1140 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 7 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav trade unions insist that wages in Yugoslavia must be brought into line with those in Western industrialised countries because the contrast is striking although a great many articles already cost as much in Yugoslavia as in the West, member of the Trade Unions of Yugoslavia Presidency Dusan Kocoljevac told TANJUG today.

According to latest European Community (EC) figures, the average industrial worker in the grouping is paid between 2.96 dollars an hour in Portugal and 18.17 dollars in the Federal Republic of Germany.

On the other hand, Yugoslav data show that his Yugoslav counterpart earns less than one dollar an hour and that the average Yugoslav wage in May stood at some 370 West German marks.

The trade union leadership says it will launch a drive for more realistic labour evaluation and will no longer tolerate inept executuves who seek a way out of economic difficulties in lower wages and fewer workers instead of better programmes and exports.

The trade unions' view that wages must follow the increase in the cost of living is resisted on the grounds that wages are among the chief generators of inflation, which was the government's chief motive in proposing a law to ban monthly earnings being paid in several installments, Kocoljevac said.

Leading Yugoslav economists and sociologists have been warning for years that economic paralysis is inevitable whenever individual and collective creativity is fettered by the philosophy of equal stomachs.

The deepening crisis in Yugoslavia has shown that it will not be possible to carry out economic reform without proper remuneration.

Serbian Protest of LCY Plenum Speeches

LD0708121489 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 2000 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] The Communists of the 11 municipalities of the Danube region believe that the 25th League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee session was supposed, by its very name, to clarify interethnic relations. However, during the session, some individuals attacked Serbia and its leadership without good reason, rather than presenting evidence and pointing out who is really fomenting interethnic divisions.

The Communists of this region were particularly infuriated by Dusan Dragosavac's discussion, which in their view poured fuel on the fire of interethnic relations, so they have demanded that he be personally called to account for his imprudent speech.

The Leskovac LC Municipal Conference Presidium is discontent with the unprincipled desire to dominate Serbia, which is supposed to be coming from other parts of Yugoslavia. The LC leadership in this Serbian municipality especially took exception to Ivica Racan's introductory address and Dusan Dragosavac's discussion. In the opinion of the leadership of the Leskovak Communists, the federal party plenum has confirmed that the etatist and bureaucratic forces are the initiators of the crisis in interethnic relations in our country. The members of the municipal committee also expressed the view that the leadership of the LCY does not want to face the difficulties in interethnic relations.

Pristina Building Workers Protest Over Pay

AU0708180689 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Today at about 1500 [1300 GMT], several hundred workers of the Ramiz Sadiku Construction Enterprise of Pristina, discontented with their discussion with representatives of provincial and communal authorities, went to the front of the building of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee. As a TANJUG report states, personnel from the organs of internal affairs tried to prevent them without the use of force, but without success. The workers passed through the city streets quietly, and went in front of the building of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, where they began to [word indistinct]. The column of workers then went to the building of the Communal Assembly, where as many workers as possible were allowed to enter the hall. The workers of the Ramiz Sadiku Construction enterprise were promised this morning that their guaranteed personal incomes would be paid by the 20th of this month. However, they did not agree with this decision, and took to the street.

Fajtovci Miners End Strike, Return to Work

AU0708205189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Aug 89 p 12

[Unattributed report: "Miners Returned to the Pit"]

[Text] Sanski Most—The miners of the Fajtovci mine, who went on strike on 26 July because of a delay in the payment of the June salaries, yesterday morning returned to the pit. The funds for personal salaries were secured and those employed in the Production and Processing of Coal Basic Associated Labor Organization will receive their money during the day. Workers employed in other parts of the Kamengrad mine, to which Fajtovci belongs, will also be paid.

However, the striking council will not stop—it will continue to work on the miners' long term demands to improve the general situation in the mine.

Vojvodina Presidium Comments on 'Media War'

LD0708223489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1402 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Novi Sad, 7 Aug (TANJUG)—The media war in the divided Yugoslav sphere of information which, it seems, reached its peak just before the 25th session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee has been continued with undiminished vigor in the first week following the plenum. By the way of newspapers, radio and television programs, numerous irritating journalistic articles have been presented to the public which, with their messages, are giving rise to new implications in the sensitive area of intranational relations.

This is stressed in a statement by the presidium of the provincial committee of the Vojvodina league of Communists [LC] which goes on to say:

It is indicative that in some papers there continue to be fabricated interpretations of the situation in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, with particular emphasis on the idea that the Vojvodina LC is losing its identity. It is though some forces cannot reconcile themselves to the unity which has been achieved in the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Thus, in an unfounded way, an ironic stance is taken toward the antibureaucratic revolution. This commitment is maliciously talked about with negative connotations by those who lose sight of the fact that the antibureaucratic revolution is the basic characteristic of aspirations to free society, via comprehensive social reform of the mammoth bureaucratic parasitic apparatus, which will also be the main theme of the 14th extraordinary LCY Congress. [passage omitted]

30 Jul Central Committee Session Reported

AU0808072689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Jul 89 pp 4-5

[Report by D. Vucinic, J. Radovanovic, D. Drazic, D. Bisenic, and Dj. Bilbija on the session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in Belgrade on 30 July: "Discussion of Interethnic Relations"]

[Excerpts]

Dobrivoje Vidic: Energetically Against Chauvinism

Citizens are asking who will finally say "stop the nationalist and other divisions that are tearing the fabric of the SFRY."

From the decisions that we adopt and the work that will then follow it will be seen whether we are to say "stop" here today. All that had to be said in principle about how interethnic relations in the SFRY should be set was said in the course of war and during the legislative activities connected with the adoption of all the constitutions to date. It makes sense to discuss only whether we have implemented these principles in life, as we should, and whether we have kept pace with the requirements in following modern development, both our own and that in the world around us.

I believe that the discussion today will make sense only if we adopt proper decisions for overcoming the present pronounced nationalist occurrences and clashes which are not needed by any sensible and well-meaning person in this society. Because the recently published discussion on constitutional changes has comprehensively enriched our common knowledge, because after the changes adopted, especially in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, we have sensibly turned to the adoption of a new SFRY Constitution, and because it is true that the equality of our peoples and nationalities in a federation set on AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles must be realized in all the fields of life, in the economy, culture, and society in the widest sense of the word, I think that work on framing a new constitution should be speeded up, as I said at the last session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]. The SFRY Presidency should not delay the initiatives in this direction. [passage omitted]

Both in our country and in the world the public expects that this LCY Central Committee session will really succeed in stopping the nationalist rampage and chauvinist agitation, and that with its decisions it will contribute to the creation of a social atmosphere in which it is possible to work constructively on the adoption of a new constitution in the spirit of the designed reforms. I believe that in this respect, the necessary activity of all our sociopolitical organizations, our schools, and of every family are of the greatest importance.

I join all those who appeal to the appropriate state organs to energetically stop, on the basis of the existing laws, the chauvinist activities on the public scene. The League of Communists membership is loud and clear in its dissatisfaction with the revival of monarchist agitation which is absurd in this republican country.

Any Chetnik or Ustasha activities, and any other similar activities and actions based on their ideologies, are inadmissible. The millions of people who fell in World War II, not only in the struggle against the occupier but also because of the treasonable activities of domestic Quislings and chauvinists of various hues, cannot and must not be forgotten for a single day, considering that we have to deal with attempts to revive such fratricidal activities and to make them spread again.

The greatest harm to interethnic relations in our country has been inflicted by the unprincipled opposition to the changes in the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, both in our provinces and in the other communities where it has arisen, and by the well-known problems in Kosovo in this connection. After everything that we all know, especially as regards social activities in our country in the past year, I think that there is no reason for the League of Communists of Serbia to be suspected of great Serbian pretensions, of a unitarian concept of Yugoslavia, or of paternalism. The stances of the League of Communists of Serbia, its ideological struggle, and its present proposals for the framing of a new constitution, for the 14th LCY Congress resolutions, and for its forthcoming congress contain none of these, and one should not cause alarm among the public in the republics with something that is fabricated and which in fact does not exist, but that is being fostered for obvious other reasons, reasons opposing the reform, or because of the need to put up a smoke screen to facilitate the agitation for the ideas and intentions of the separatists or incorrigible bureaucrats and statists.

Of course this gives rise to revulsion among the Serbian people and the widest public of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and this has been shown in particular in connection with the constitutional changes in the SFRY and the Socialist Republic of Serbia. It is indeed frivolous to impute to the Communists and all other progressive people and citizens in the Socialist Republic of Serbia the idea that they are intentionally or in any other way conducting a national homogenization. Bearing in mind that the members of the LCY Central Committee and the highest organs of authority in the SFRY have supported the changes made to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, it would only be natural to give credit from this rostrum to the leadership and membership of the Serbian League of Communists for expressing in the best possible way the understanding for the progressive mood of their citizens, the citizens of all nationalities in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and of course the Serbs in particular, and for relying in an appropriate way on the powerful support of the people in the struggle to carry out these constitutional changes, despite some tenacious resistance. [passage omitted]

Janko Pleterski: Partisan Yugoslavia—History

Peoples are not the property of any class, and even less the property of any political movement or organization, but they have been, remain, and will again be a cause and reason, and at the same time the arena, of political and social struggles, of political organization, and political programs. Partisan Yugoslavia was very much aware of these facts. It was not possible to move people to fight with any decree, but only with political activities, only by creating the conviction that they were fighting for their human and national freedom, as well as the freedom of all others, in a joint national liberation struggle. This is the essence of the message that we find in the well-known article Tito wrote at the beginning of December 1942, in which he spoke about national self-determination as the unyielding principle of the communist movement. [passage omitted]

This completely clear vision of partisan Yugoslavia is history now. Other views of the state and other ambitions are in the forefront. We all see that we are at a major crossroads. We are at the crossroads of the movement, at the crossroads of the practice of socialism, and at the corssroads of the future of the country that we call the SFRY. [passage omitted]

Branko Caratan: A Combination of Romania and Lebanon

Speaking about attitudes toward choosing a type of socialism and about the relationship between this problem and the national question, Branko Caratan said:

Today it is no longer contentious that the cooling of interethnic relations in Yugoslavia has taken place. Nationalists are obviously exploiting the struggle for power among the Communists, the struggle over different concepts of how to surmount the crisis: We have had calls for national unification, we have had incidents in which the specters of the past were on the march, we have discussions which are beginning to resemble those held in the old Yugoslavia.

I propose that, despite all this, the League of Communists does not look back to the past, but to the future. If we must have confrontations, let them be confrontations about plans for the future. [passage omitted]

A demand for de-Titoization is also appearing here, for we are dealing with the concept of a community that has been shaped under Tito's leadership. One should not forget that Tito was the only one who in this region succeeded not only in stoppingg bloody clashes, but also in creating a relatively stable community of peoples and nationalities. We must continue the reforms that Tito began and we must consistently complete them. This is no longer a question of selecting one of several possible ways out of the crisis, but in fact the only way out if we want socialism to survive in this region and if we want Yugoslavia to be consolidated as an equal federal community. I believe that only a new concept of socialism can now be an integrating factor of new Yugoslav unity. If we are not aware of this, we may very easily get into some kind of combination of Romania and Lebanon. [passage omitted]

Muhamed Abadzic: Here We Have Both Gunpowder and Fuse

Many past sessions of the LCY Central Committee were proclaimed to be historic, decisive, and the like, even while they were being prepared, but we walked out after the sessions with a bitter taste of another failure and disappointed hopes. We often proclaimed that precisely at a certain session we would call a spade a spade, but in general we again kept to faded cliches about " certain circles," "certain individuals" in the League of Communists that fight for such and such a thing, and against such and such a thing, and the like.

I wish to express my pessimism and my fear that this 25th jubilee session may experience the same fate. I am driven to this conclusion first of all by the recent sessions of the central and provincial committees of the League of Communists devoted to the same questions that we are discussing now. Reading the reports, the stances adopted, and the concluding speeches at these sessions, one may gain the uniform impression—with minor exceptions—that Yugoslavia is being seriously undermined by disturbed interethnic relations which threaten to endanger even the foundations of the revolution, but the interethnic relations in "our community" are stable, undisturbed, firm, and the like. This impression is even firmer if one reads the nicely phrased statements on talks between the several republican leaderships, which have become particularly frequent recently. These statements speak about the traditionally good relations between the peoples and nationalities of the several republics, about the readiness to defend and protect AVNOJ Yugoslavia (I only ask myself which), about the readiness to strive for all three of the reforms, to struggle against inflation, and so forth. Reading these idyllically worded statements, one is almost driven to ask why we have this session when there are more urgent things to do.

While we write down statements and standpoints, royalist badges [kokarde], beards [a Chetnik symbol], banners, trumpets, Ustasha and Chetnik symbols, specters of the past, the desecration of graves, rape, and the demolition of shops are passing in front of our eyes, and even children are not spared the nationalist outrages, and in some places counts are taken as to who possesses more arms. Those whom one expects to be first to condemn most sharply these nationalist outrages, because the members of their own nation, which is to say their citizens, are involved, make even official appraisals that these are isolated nationalist excesses and one should hardly pay so much attention to them. We seem to forget the basic rule of the ideological struggle, that the Communists must struggle above all against their own nationalism, against nationalism in their community, and only afterwards against other types of nationalism.

Cursing Alien Nationalism

I believe that the discussions in the central and provincial committees (in my opinion, an exception is the discussion in the LCY Committee in the Yugoslav People's Army) have not yielded the results they should have produced. One discussed "one's own" nationalism in a much less critical way than one discussed "alien" nationalism and, bearing in mind the increasingly pronounced escalation of nationalism in almost all the communities of Yugoslavia, I would propose that the LCY Central Committee ask all the central and provincial committees to renew, on the basis of the stances of this session, the discussion of this question as soon as possible, paying special attention to the actual situation and the occurrence of nationalism in one's own community and the ways of the struggle, and to report to the LCY Central Committee.

I also propose that we leave diplomatic bags and gloves outside the door to this hall, that we remember that we are Communists—and so-called leading Communists, too—and that we discuss frankly and in a communist spirit the poisonous seed that we ourselves have sown, that without any petty political calculations we say the proper thing about the state of the national relations in our communities, and afterwards about the state in other communities, and that we agree on how we may cut this chain must efficiently without much trouble. We cannot make excuses saying that the League of Communists is in a crisis, that we lack strength, that we must wait for the reforms and for the crisis to be overcome, after which the danger of nationalism will pass, and the like.

Bosnia-Hercegovina is not and cannot be immune to all the happenings in Yugoslavia, and one may even say that these happenings are reflected especially harshly in Bosnia-Hercegovina in particular. Both Croatian and Muslim nationalism have been manifested, and great Serbian nationalism and chauvinism has been particularly prominent recently; it irritates the members of all ethnic groups and it favors a general strengthening of nationalism. The times irresistibly remind one of 1971 and the mass movement [among the Croats]. The methods and goals are the same, only the directions of action are somewhat changed. Nationalist skirmishes and the exploration and testing of forces are evident every day, and any moment they could grow into an open conflict. Nationalist divisions catch one's eye even in some discussions in republican forums, so that it has repeatedly happened that the statements by individuals of one ethnic group have been rebutted exclusively by members of another ethic group. Of course, the growing social dissatisfaction, the protracted affairs and cases, or the failure to solve them are being used to the maximum. Thus, for instance, for Muslim nationalists Agrokomerc shows that the Serbs are settling accounts with the Muslims, and for the Serbian nationalists it shows a Muslim scheme to economically weaken the Serbs, and so forth.

"It Smells" of Solevic

Neum, Mosevac, Nevesinje, Gacko, Zenica, and many other cases have provided fertile ground for the nationalists. Only a principled solving of these cases may deprive the "exporters of the revolution" and their local sympathizers of their trump cards; these people have lately been feverishly seeking the next "victims," which is to say the communes in which "the people will enter the stage." It is only through the insistence on the citizen as an individual, who will be assured, through the activities of the law-governed state, security and equal treatment on the entire territory of Yugoslavia, as well as his basic civic rights and social security, that one can knock the weapons from the hands of the nationalists and prevent the implementation of their aims.

This in no way pushes the national element to one side, but in fact allows the national element to acquire its proper democratic, civilizational meaning. Nationalism is indeed on the upswing, thanks to the crisis of the economic and political systems, but under the present conditions it is obviously above all a means in the struggle for power with which the front of the conservative forces, manipulating the nationalist monolith, tries to impose its own concept of the reform and its own Yugoslavia. As long as this remained within the borders of one republic, it did not even cause suspicion and concern, but ambitions are growing and the appetite is increasing from day to day. It has been suggested to us that we should not pay much attention to Solevic's concept of the Yugoslav "people entering the stage," because he was not a representative of any official organ, which means that he merely expressed his own opinions.

Indeed, we used to arrest and convict others for much milder opinions, while Solevic ended up by moving to Nis.

What has recently been happening in Croatia and in Bosnia-Hercegovina smells excessively of Solevic's special dish; and is it only his special dish? As regards his conduct, only one member of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Serbia reacted, though only mildly. As regards the ideological and theoretical elaboration of that concept, as voiced by Cosic, Kapor, Beckovic, Draskovic, and even a Serbian Presidency member, Mihalj Kertes, who spoke at a forum discussion in Titograd, we have not heard a single word of dissociation or condemnation by any official organ in Serbia. On the contrary, at the last plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia it was stated that the Serbian League of Communists has achieved significant results in the fight against Serbian nationalism. This was stated somehow at the same time as the emergence of various memorandums, appeals from 7 Francuska Street [official address of the Serbian Writers Association], the messages of GLAS CRKVE [VOICE OF CHURCH, newspaper published in Sabac] on St Vitus' Day, and the "Proposed Serbian Church National Program," when the symbols of the past are used to attack Tito and enthrone a new leader.

Several days ago I read an article in OSLOBODJENJE written by Comrade Emilija Bruner-Bala, secretary of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, who said: "The state of interethnic relations in Vojvodina is such that there is no cause for concern, nor for self-satisfaction, because the general state of interethnic relations in Yugoslavia is characterized by divisions, national separation, and a rise in nationalism." Comrade Bruner, you claim that there is no cause for concern. I must tell you, as one communist to another , that there is much cause for concern: not only because of nationalism in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but also because of nationalism in Vojvodina, and in all parts of the country. Comrade Bruner, I am not, for instance, worried about the Sava cultural-educational community, which has been gathering together the cultural representatives of Serbia, Croatia, Vojvodina, and Bosnia-Hercegovina for decades, because I as a representative of Brcko also took part in its founding. In this community, nationality has never been important, it never occurred to anybody to promote only his nation. However, I am concerned about another organization with the same name, the Sava Society for the Preservation of the Historic Truth of the Serbian Language, the Cyrillic script, and the Defense of Kosovo based in Nova Pazova, or at least this is what the newspapers call it. I am concerned about the number of such organizations, their composition, program, scenarios, or the statements such as: "We would even go to Dubai if we knew that there are only two Serbs living there and they are under threat. We would also go to Slovenia if we are asked. Distance is not a problem for us." They have already been in Knin and elsewhere, and they are easily recognizable. If they want to come to Bosnia-Hercegovina with these intentions, then no thanks, they should stay at home. They should not bother. We all know how to take care of ourselves, whether we are Serbs, Croats, Muslims, Jews, or members of any other nation. Bosnia-Hercegovina remains the mother republic to us. We do not have and do not want to have a homeland in reserve. We do not need anybody to protect us, we do not need tutors. We in Bosnia-Hercegovina are justifiably sensitive about these events. We know very well what we have been through, what we have sacrificed, and do not want to gamble it away now.

Another Tito Is Put Forward

Nobody should be surprised by the number of appeals from this republic for an end to senseless nationalism. Appeals were recently made by the Bosnian Assembly, the Bosnian Presidency, the Socialist Alliance, veterans, youth, the trade union organization, the people from Kozara, people from all parts of the republic, workers, and farmers. They are fed up with everything and they are ready to defend the attained peace, freedom, and equality with all means. We know very well and we have seen that the homogenization of one nation conditions the homogenization of another, that one type of nationalism causes another. This has been clearly evident recently. We have categorically stated what the founding of special national institutions could mean in a multinational community such as Bosnia-Hercegovina. Unfortunately, the support for the founding of the national institutions of the Serbian people who live outside Serbia came from the highest place, from the plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, and this support was expressed in the concluding speech. Such behavior, such different standards cannot lead to progress. Unfortunately, these things are becoming the mode of behavior: We say one thing from the rostrum here, even support the adoption of a certain stand, but after that we go to our republic or province and "play" something else.

How can we, as disunited as we are, sit at a table, or appear at the congress, or draft a new constitution? We take many things for granted, but the question is who allowed us to do that. As regards Yugoslavia's future, I ask myself: How is it possible that some people have the right to set the conditions under which talks can be held? How is it possible for some people to have the right to say: If you do not want it this way, then we can do without you; and for others to say, if you want it this way, we will not go along with you. If this had not come from serious people, and even some top officials, it would have sounded like a kids' game.

This Yugoslavia was created by and is made up of all of its peoples and nationalities, equal and fraternal peoples and nationalities. Therefore, it could only be reshaped and altered by all of us, but not by the Serbs, Slovenes, or others individually. Some people, stating that they will go somewhere else or that they can manage without others, in a way represent Yugoslavia's disintegration, its capitulation and, as we all know, the Constitution prohibits capitulation. Similarly, demanding greater rights for one nation on the basis of its special historic achievements, victims, role, degree of development, or size of the population, is in a way an attack on Yugoslavia based on the AVNOJ principles. This also includes attacks on Tito and everything he symbolizes, which is not surprising, because those who are doing it are aware that this is the easiest way to achieve their aims. However, what should be surprising and worrying is some people's persistent wish to put forward another Tito, a savior and rescuer, as the only alternative to the corrupt and bureaucratic politicians that have remained after the "aged" Tito who, because of his age, was not able at the end of his life to judge what kind of Constitution was introduced in 1974.

Yugoslavia Is Tired Too

We won many battles with Tito's name on our lips. We protected his name and personality with the law for numerous reasons. As far as I know, we have not decided in any republic or province to place anybody else's picture in public places other that Tito's, but this is happening. This irritates and divides people in Bosnia-Hercegovina. For instance, recently, a picture of Slobodan Milosevic stuck on a window of a local bus in a village in Gacko disturbed the local people. They did not want a picture of one of "their's" to be placed there, but Tito's picture. In order to calm them down, Tito's picture was placed next to that of Milosevic. The same happened in the porter's office of the Gacko Communal Assembly. Do we need these provocations and irritation? Would the main protagonist be able to calm the spirits by clearly dissociating himself from this, but not in the way he did recently when, appealing to the people not to do it any more, he also said that carrying the picture represented a special recognition of him and the leadership for the policy they are conducting. Otherwise, it is not only Serbia, as Comrade Ckrebic said at the eighth plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, that is tired of leaders and self-important leaders, the whole of Yugoslavia is tired of them. Yugoslavia needs able and clever people, it needs politicians and managers in particular. However, as everywhere else in the world, they need to prove themselves through their results, with clear and tangible emblems rather than with hullabaloo, iconography, and gold badges....

Will we, instead of the outside enemy which has been trying to destroy Tito's Yugoslavia for decades, really become Yugoslavia's gravediggers ourselves?

Aleksandar Kovacevic: The "Sava" and the Policy of the League of Communists of Vojvodina and Serbia Are Not the Same

Immediately after Muhamed Abadzic had finished his speech, Aleksandar Kovacevic asked to speak. He first of all said that he agreed with Abadzic that everybody should analyze nationalism in their own community, but that he (Muhamed Abadzic) only analyzed nationalism in other communities. [passage omitted]

I come from the community in which this "Solidarity"—"Sava" organization [one of "Solidarity" organizations set up in Serbia and Vojvodina to give support to Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo], about which Abadzic spoke, was founded, Kovacevic said. I must say that the local and communal bodies have expressed their clear and unequivocal political judgment about the excessive behavior of Sava's members. The clero-nationalist ideas advocated by "Solidarity"—"Sava" are unacceptable and as such have been rejected and condemned. What is surprising is that not only Comrade Abadzic, but also many other individuals and the press in some communities equated the activities of these groups with the policy of the League of Communists of Vojvodina and Serbia. I think that this is crazy. This can only be the view of those who are not in favor of Yugoslav interest-s,and who are against the equality of all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities. [passage omitted]

Bogdan Trifunovic: Ilegations Do Not Lead to Anything Good

I agree with Muhamed Abadzic's idea that it would be good to use this plenum and speak above all about what we are doing in our own communities and try to find out in an honest, communist way what the main causes of our current problems in interethnic relations are. Surely the prime task of this plenum is, by proceeding from the real causes of big problems that are manifested in the economic and political crisis, as well as in deteriorated interethnic relations, to find a way out of the crisis, to decide as the LCY what we need to do regarding the reforms, and in this way improve interethnic relations and overcome the current grave situation.

However, it is also necessary to remain consistent with this approach in all discussions and not, as Abadzic did, come up with a series of accusations against what is allegedly done in the League of Communists of Serbia, the "enthroning of a leader," or give unacceptable interpretations which lead nowhwere except to a big quarrel, from which the LCY and its Central Committee will not emerge united and will not know what to do after this session. I do not think that this is the right way and that we should follow it. This way is unacceptable to us. I would not want to go into any detail, because this is only a reply to Abadzic's interpretation of the question of whether anybody has dissociated himself from Solevic and his claim that certain tendencies that could have been tolerated while they remained within the borders of one republic are now spreading, and so forth. All this has nothing to do with the proposed stands, or the LCY's approach, or with serious analyses of our current economic, political, and social problems.

Therefore, I do not want to spend much time on some views. I asked to speak because Comrade Abadzic mentioned a session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia and a part of the concluding speech, not, of course, mentioning anything else, what the conclusions were, what proposals the League of Communists of Serbia made, and what the concluding speech contained. Since I assume that he referred to this part of the concluding speech, I shall read it, because it consists of only couple of sentences. After investing much effort to improve interethnic relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, where there is much more to be achieved in addition to what has already been done, we said that "the League of Communists of Serbia will simultaneously fight for the same kind of equality among the peoples and nationalities in the federation, that is to say, in all our republics. Some sections of our peoples and nationalities in all of our republics should have the right to full national affirmation, to nurture national values, traditions, and specific features, to nurture their culture and have appropriate cultural institutions, while maintaining comprehensive links with all other people with whom they live, building brotherhood and unity." This is the relevant sentence.

We have not supported nor voted in favor of the creation of special national institutions in Bosnia-Hercegovina. We expressed our principled approach and stand for all Yugoslavia, the way we see things. Our view on full national affirmation and equality refers to all peoples and nationalities.

In our talks with the leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina we said that we are aware of the specific characteristics of Bosnia-Hercegovina concerning the nationality issue, as well as its specific characteristics as a republic, and so forth. We also said this in the LCY Central Committee Presidium. I think that our view is completely clear. There have not been and there will not be problems concerning Serbia's attitude toward the affirmation and equality of all peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In this respect, we will certainly contribute toward improving these relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and not the opposite.

As regards the unacceptable and irresponsible allusions to and attacks on Slobodan Milosevic in Abadzic'z speech, I do not want to comment on them. If somebody wants to speak about the policy of the League of Communists of Serbia, about the policy of its Central Committee and the republican leadership, one must bear in mind the uniformity of this policy. In the League of Communists of Serbia there are clear stands concerning the economic and political system. There is also a democratic and socialist practice. There are official documents. Of course, one will be able to discuss them once we start preparing Yugoslav standpoints. There will be opportunities to discuss other standpoints and I believe that by the 14th congress and at the congress itself we will have arrived at joint solutions. However, this frivolous picking on some individuals by means of allegations, as done by Abadzic, who is prescribing what these individuals should do, is unacceptable to us and does not lead to anything good.

Drago Dimitrovic: Sitting at the Table After Measures Have Been Introduced

I had to ask to speak because a link, in my view a strange link, has been made between the expression of one kind of nationalism as a reaction to the expression of another kind of nationalism in Dalmatia today. Considering that we have already presented our assessments of it, which are obviously not known to many members of the Central Committee, I shall briefly summarize them.

Today, in some parts of Dalmatia we are faced by nationalist rage from the positions of Croatian nationalism and, in some elements, from the positions of Serbian nationalism. What constitutes the basis of our assessment is that we must put a stop to this using all political and state means, and that there can be no discussion about what caused what or what had preceded what. This cannot remove the responsibility of those involved, or give anybody the right to carry out such savage attacks and in this way disturb public peace and order and the safety of the working people and citizens. In this sense, we do not have any reservations or open questions at present. We have done everything we could to enable the political apparatus and self-protecting system to ensure people's safety so that they can spend their holiday in peace or fulfill the purpose of their visit to Dalmatia.

We therefore think that it is our duty to apologize to all those who were not able to complete their holiday or fulfill the purpose of their visit to Dalmatia in the way they wanted, in the way they should have been able. We also think that we should say to all the citizens that the legal and political system are fully ready to react if called upon, and to create conditions so that everybody in Yugoslavia can travel freely travel and feel himself to be a Yugoslav citizen. We will not allow people with confused, pathological ideas to threaten people's safety and disturb human and interethnic relations in Yugoslavia, and in this specific case in Dalmatia.

For us this represents the starting position. Today, we cannot hold discussions when the public order and people's safety are threatened. We must create conditions in which safety will be guaranteed to all. Only then can we sit down and talk. We are not ready to talk with anybody who acts from those positions.

As far as I know, the state organs in the Socialist Republic of Croatia have applied—also at our suggestion—measures whereby the reaction to all such types of activity will be the harshest punitive policy.